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THE

LIFE

OF

CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque
senioribus tradam. TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENTS.

VOL. II.

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LIFE

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EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. V.

Diſcontents at Peterſburg.—Miſunderſtanding between the counts Gregory Orloff and Panin.—Viſſenſky becomes favourite of the empreſs.—Reſignation of the chancellor Vorontzoff.—Prince Radzivil at the head of the confederates.—The biſhop of Cracow carried off.—The duke de Choiſeul incites the Turks to declare war againſt Ruſſia.—Treaty entered into by the empreſs with England.—Tournament at Peterſburg.—Reform of the courts of juſtice.—Convocation of deputies from all the provinces of the empire.—Wiſe reply of the Samoyèdes.—Wicked attempt of Tſchoglokoff.—Travels of ſeveral learned men in the interior of Ruſſia.—Academical inſtitutions.—Inoculation of the empreſs and the grand duke, with other events from 1764 to 1768.

THE beneficial effects of Catharine's regulations and eſtabliſhments for the internal adminiſtration of government were every day be-

coming more apparent in all parts of Ruſſia. That vaſt empire, rendered more compact, better regulated, more ſimply organiſed, animated with a new ſpirit, muſt naturally have a powerful influence on the commerce, on the finances, the politics, nay even on the exiſtence of the other nations of the earth: and it certainly had. The time was paſt when foreign cabinets, with a ſort of aſſurance of effect, could direct affairs, give birth to reſolutions, and put a ſtop to proceedings at Peterſburg; the government diſplayed that ſpirit of independence which became ſo great a monarchy: on the contrary, the queſtion was now, how Catharine was acting, and what ſhe was purpoſing in regard to all that the princes and republics, from the Memel to the Tagus, were meditating and tranſacting. A ſagacious hiſtorian, who is certainly no flatterer of deſpots, ſays of the late empreſs of Ruſſia, to which every one muſt readily ſubſcribe, " The volumes of modern " hiſtory can produce no reign like this: for no " monarch has ever yet ſucceeded in the attain- " ment of ſuch a dictature in the grand republic " of Europe, as Catharine II. now holds; and " none of all the kings who have heretofore " given cauſe to dread the erection of an uni- " verſal monarchy, ſeem to have had any

" know-

" knowledge of her art; to preſent herſelf " with the pride of a conqueror in the moſt " perilous ſituations, and with an unuſual, a " totally new dignity in the moſt common " tranſactions. And it is manifeſtly not alone " the ſupreme authority which here gives law, " but the judgment which knows when to ſhew " that authority, and when to employ it *."

Theoretical politicians, indeed, and ſtatiſtical calculators, have pretended to affirm, that this complaiſance of the reſt of Europe has been ſhewn without reaſon; and that the aſſumption that the power of Ruſſia is ſo formidable is one of thoſe that are only admitted upon truſt. But the conſequence ſeems here demonſtrable, if any where in a caſe like this: whoever undertakes many things, and performs all that he undertakes, is probably ſtill able to undertake and to perform more. Whoever, juſt at the time when the politician has calculated that he is reduced to his laſt ſoldier and his laſt ruble, appears with a formidable army, and diſpoſes of millions with magnanimous prodigality, cannot be yet at the extremity of his forces or his wealth. And (what is completely deciſive) whoever, in the

* M. Spittler, in his " Sketch of the Hiſtory of the " Governments of Europe," part ii. p. 420.

grand european republic, at the time when a Frederic and a Joſeph, when the intriguing French and the enterpriſing Britons compoſe the ſenate of that republic, can hold the dictature, is ſurely born to be dictator, is endowed with all the qualities requiſite to that end: the power, the art, and the judgment. This will apply to Catharine. In her were united what the world has ſeldom ſeen together. From merely phyſical power many things may afford ſecurity; but the ſuperiority of mind, the refinement of policy, is capable of reaching lengths, of which the former will fall ſhort.—Whom ſhe favoured with her eſteem and friendſhip, never advanced farther to confidence, but remained in a reſpectful, almoſt dependent ſituation. Whoever incurred her wrath, ſhe could ſo place before all Europe, that the effects of it were no longer beheld as a hoſtile contention between two equal potentates, but as the chaſtiſement of a felon.—When ſhe iſſued her commands, it was in the ſweet accents of righteouſneſs and peace. However her paſſions were excited, ſhe yet remained tranquil, till the proper maturity enſured the event; and thus her actions acquired the diſtinctive marks of irreſiſtible majeſty. But never yet has a monarch underſtood, like her, how to be bountiful exactly at the fitteſt time, and to make preſents with

ſuch

ſuch ſignificance as to fix the gratitude of the receiver, and to acquire the veneration that is due to a beneficent deity*.

While Catharine was giving law to Poland, amuſing Auſtria, conciliating the friendſhip of Pruſſia, and treating with England, ſhe was alſo tampering with the other courts of Europe, and labouring efficaciouſly towards very ſoon making herſelf dreaded by them. She exerted herſelf to the utmoſt in giving new ſpirit to the commerce of her country, in augmenting her navy, and above all in ſoftening the manners of her people, as yet not far advanced in civilization. But, badly ſeconded by the great perſonages of the empire, and even by ſuch as were about her, the progreſs of her inſtitutions was at

* We will take the liberty of making here one other extract from Spittler's work, concerning the interference of Ruſſia in the affairs of Poland:—"It was an ingenious contrivance, "formed in a truly roman ſtyle, and completed accordingly. "Not only a numerous and free nation was to be deprived of "its liberty and national ſubſiſtence, but all Europe was to "be lulled aſleep. The annexations of Lewis XIV. were "a trifling buſineſs in compariſon of what Catharine II. per- "formed in Poland and againſt that country. But what "loud and violent cries were raiſed againſt the former; and "in what ſoft murmurs did the voice of truth repeat the "ancient law of nations, when there ſeemed to be no longer "any law between Ruſſia and Poland? &c." See Spittler's work on the governments of Europe, p. 423.

firſt but ſlow. The ſpirit of diviſion continued to reign in Peterſburg. The outrages that were to be prevented or puniſhed, always made it neceſſary for Catharine to keep well with the conſpirators to whom ſhe was indebted for the throne: but the favours ſhe was inceſſantly heaping on that greedy and inſolent crew, were ſo many additional ſources of hatred and diſcontent. Some new plot or conſpiracy was forming every day; and every day the good fortune of the empreſs, or rather her prudence, delivered her from danger. Puniſhments were ſecret and terrible. The authors of one plot could but rarely undertake a ſecond.

What moſt afflicted the empreſs was the miſunderſtanding that prevailed between her favourite and her chief miniſter, becauſe the devotedneſs and audacity of the one were not leſs uſeful to her than the name and abilities of the other. Panin had certainly conſiderable imperfections; but he was the only one who had a true notion of buſineſs. His cold imagination, his melancholy, his pride, his obſtinacy, and above all his indolence, were highly diſpleaſing to Catharine: but ſhe did ample juſtice to his talents, and continued to give him her confidence. Beſides, though the empreſs was not ſatisfied with him, he had the art of reviſing his opinions,

opinions, when he found them diſagreeable to her.

The influence of Orloff was founded on a different baſis: but he uſed it without diſcretion, and was continually leſſening its ſtability. No longer employing thoſe aſſiduities which were the only means in his power of ſecuring the favour he enjoyed, and even negligent of his uſual attendance at court, abſenting himſelf for ſeveral weeks together for purſuing the chace of the bear, and indifferent to the amuſements of the palace, if ever any warmth of attachment ſubſiſted, it muſt naturally now ſubſide, and decline into perfect indifference.

Panin, remarking this conduct, thought he might improve it to bring on the diſmiſſion of the arrogant favourite. Perceiving that the empreſs frequently beheld with complacency a young officer, named Viſſenſky, thenceforward he put in practice every thing he could deviſe to encourage the inclination. Viſſenſky was ſoon admitted into favour; and, directed by the artful miniſter, behaved in ſuch a manner as to give reaſon to believe that Orloff would ſoon be diſcarded. But the latter, who was not willing to loſe his conſequence, made a ſudden alteration in his conduct, and by that means pre-

ſerved his ſtation. The new favourite was diſmiſſed with brilliant preſents, and an employment that fixed him in one of the remoter provinces.

Though Panin enjoyed great intereſt and a high reſpect, with the advantages accruing from his poſt of governor to the grand duke and his title of miniſter, the return of the chancellor Vorontzoff, whoſe functions he performed *ad interim*, gave him uneaſineſs. Jealous to preſerve his authority entire, and the ſplendor of a repreſentation which was of great value to him, he humbled himſelf ſo far as to flatter the favourite, whoſe downfal he had been endeavouring to procure. Orloff was not of an impracticable temper. Always recollecting with bitterneſs the ſteps which the chancellor had taken to prevent him from ſharing in the throne, he requeſted the empreſs to keep him away from the management of affairs; and he became the apologiſt for an enemy leſs bold, but more artful. Catharine accoſted the chancellor with extreme coldneſs. Inſtead of replacing him in the functions of miniſter, as at his departure ſhe had given him reaſon to hope, ſhe cauſed it to be ſuggeſted to him that it would not be taken amiſs if he were to reſign a place which he could

could no longer fill to the ſatisfaction of his ſovereign. The chancellor heſitated for ſome time: but at length the advice of his friends prevailed. He ſeemed voluntarily to reſign what was actually taken from him. His reſignation was accepted with expreſſions of regret, which were not more ſincere than his wiſhes for retirement; and, in order to convince him of the ſecret joy his compliance gave, he was preſented with a gratuity of 50,000 rubles and a penſion of 7000.

Among the numberleſs means employed by Catharine for detecting the authors of the plots that were perpetually diſturbing her repoſe, ſhe did not neglect the interception of the correſpondence of the foreign miniſters. That of the agent* of France was ſold to her. She even ſucceeded in procuring a duplicate of his cypher; and ſhe thought ſhe perceived in his letters, if not the adherence to the machinations of the conſpirators, at leaſt the knowledge of all the myſterious affairs that were carrying on among the people about her. Her pride was hurt at this diſcovery; her reſentment againſt the court of Verſailles increaſed; and the cold reception ſhe gave to the agent of that court

* Berenger, who had the title of chargé d'affaires.

reduced

reduced him to the neceſſity of making his retreat*.

Lewis XV. then ſent to Peterſburg the marquis de Beauſſet†, a man of great vanity and but ſmall capacity, to whom the miniſters of Catharine complained heavily of the chargé d'affaires his predeceſſor. But, as Beauſſet was unacquainted with the true cauſe of theſe complaints,

* That princeſs, ſurmiſing afterwards that Voltaire might have learnt ſome of the facts contained in the correſpondence of the agents of his nation, wrote to that celebrated genius in ſuch a manner as to diſſuade him from giving credit to them, if he were acquainted with the buſineſs, and to inform him of nothing if he were not. "All "your countrymem," ſhe writes to him, "do not entertain "the ſame ſentiments of me as you do. I know ſome who "wiſh to perſuade themſelves that it is impoſſible for me "to do any thing that is good; who put their invention to "the rack to perſuade others to think ſo likewiſe; and "woe to their emiſſaries if they dare to think otherwiſe "than as they are taught. I have candour enough to be"lieve it an advantage which they give me over them, "becauſe whoever only knows facts from the mouth of his "flatterers, knows them but badly, ſees them in a falſe "light, and acts in conſequence. Since, however, my "fame does not depend on them, but entirely on my "principles, on my actions, I comfort myſelf, as well as I "can, in not obtaining their approbation. As a good "chriſtian, I forgive them; and I pity thoſe who envy "me."

† He was preſented to the empreſs the 1ſt of May 1765.

he

he paid them but little attention, and took no precautions to prevent their being renewed againſt him. He even thought they were only to be aſcribed to the blind jealouſy which the glory of the french nation excited in the empreſs; ſo far from it, that her ambition was ſtriving to uſurp the eſteem and draw upon her the praiſes of that nation. She correſponded with Voltaire and d'Alembert. She made an offer to the latter of the place of governor to the grand duke, with a ſalary of 24,000 livres, and all conveniencies for finiſhing the Encyclopédie at Peterſburg; advantages which the philoſopher thought proper to refuſe*. Being informed that Diderot was not in good circumſtances, and was deſirous of ſelling his library to enable him to portion out his daughter; ſhe bought that library, left it in his own poſſeſſion, and ſettled on him a handſome appointment as the librarian of it. Some time previous to this, ſhe had ſent to Morand, the famous ſurgeon, a collection of gold and ſilver medals which had been ſtruck in Ruſſia, as a teſtimony of her ſatisfaction with the anatomical ſubjects and chirurgical inſtruments which he had procured for her. Almoſt

* See the appendix to the former volume, No. IV.

all

all the men of letters and the moſt diſtinguiſhed artiſts of Paris received ſome proofs of her munificence, and admiring her bounties, forgetting or unacquainted with her frailties,

They ſwelled with lies the hundred trumps of Fame.

In the mean time the ſecret deſign propoſed by that princeſs in crowning count Ciolek Poniatofsky began to unfold. Thinking herſelf ſecure of the entire ſubmiſſion of that monarch, ſhe put off all conſtraint, and openly avowed the deſigns which even policy had made it a crime in the Poles to have imputed to her. Her pretenſions were, doubtleſs, extravagant: but, as ſhe was deſirous that they ſhould not be uſeleſs, ſhe only declared them when on the point of marching the troops that were deſtined to ſupport them, and propoſed nothing but in an imperious tone. After having traced out on the map the lines of demarcation, by which Ruſſia purloined a great part of the territory of Poland, Catharine inſiſted on the recognition of the validity of theſe lines, and that the limits of the two countries ſhould thus be fixed. She exacted, farther, that the king and the republic ſhould contract with her a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive, and that they ſhould allow the diſſidents to enjoy all the ſame rights with the

the catholics, not excepting that of a capacity for being members of the ſenate. The laſt of theſe demands, the only one that was equitable, raiſed the indignation of an intolerant and deſpotic nobility. Murmurs were now heard on all ſides: mention was made of having recourſe to arms. Whether he was really aſhamed of the ſacrifices that were preſcribed to his recognition, or rather afraid of putting the nation in a ferment, the king himſelf declared that he could not conſent to theſe ſacrifices. But in order to be the better able to form a judgment of the pretexts with which Catharine covered her ambition, it will be neceſſary to underſtand what the poliſh diſſidents were.

Poland was originally circumſcribed within very narrow bounds. The inhabitants, between the 9th and 10th centuries, adopted the chriſtian religion as it was then profeſſed by the church of Rome. About the ſame time many of the neighbouring provinces, which were then independent ſtates, at different periods embraced that worſhip according to the ritual of the Greeks. In proceſs of time, many of theſe neighbouring ſtates, either by conqueſt, by right of ſucceſſion, by marriage, or by compact, became united to the kingdom of Poland; upon all which acceſſions the new provinces were upon an

an exact equality with the old in every reſpect, and each obſerved their own peculiar modes of worſhip.

Of all theſe acceſſions, that which fell to it by the marriage of Yagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, with the daughter and heireſs of Lewis king of Poland, in 1386, was the largeſt and moſt conſiderable. By this event the grand duchy of Lithuania, together with the provinces of White-Ruſſia, Podlakhia, Volhinia, Podolia, and ſhortly afterwards Red-Ruſſia, became annexed to the kingdom of Poland; with this diſtinction, that the union between the kingdom and the grand duchy depended only on the continuance of the line of the Yagellons, that family being the natural ſovereigns of Lithuania. The inhabitants of all theſe provinces were of the greek religion, as well as thoſe of Moldavia, Vallachia, and the Ukraine, which were added to the kingdom by the ſucceſſors of Yagellon: ſo that by theſe great acceſſions, the members of the greek church became at that time far ſuperior, both in numbers and power, to thoſe of the roman catholic perſuaſion. It was thought a happineſs peculiar to Poland, that, while other countries have at different times been a prey to inteſtine feuds and rancour on the ſcore of the religion of Chriſt, the great variety of opinions

on

on that ſubject never produced any ſtrife or animoſity among the people of this nation.

The reformation made very early progreſs in Poland, and the majority of the ſenators and nobility became members either of the lutheran or calviniſtic communions. To prevent therefore any miſchiefs that might ariſe from theſe differences of religion, Sigiſmund Auguſtus paſſed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June 1563, declaring that all thoſe of the equeſtrian and noble orders, whether of lithuanian or ruſſian extraction, ſhould enjoy equal rights, provided they profeſs the chriſtian religion. This he afterwards confirmed at the diet of Grodno, in 1568, adding, to prevent all miſconſtructions in favour of any party, that it was to be underſtood of every ſuch perſon, of whatever chriſtian communion or confeſſion he be.

It would not be eaſy to produce inſtances of equal moderation, in matters of religion, amongſt a people who differed ſo widely in their opinions on that head, as theſe we have ſhewn; eſpecially if it be conſidered that theſe conſtitutions were paſſed by a fierce and warlike nobility, each of whom was not only a member of the general ſovereignty, which they had juſt taken into their own hands; but alſo looked upon himſelf, in his own particular right, as in ſome degree

a ſovereign, as far as his eſtate and power extended. We ſhall pay the greater regard to the memory of thoſe illuſtrious Poles, if we reflect that the age they lived in was far from being a temperate one, and that moderation was but little cultivated in the moſt civilized and beſt regulated governments in Europe: at the ſame time it cannot be ſufficiently lamented, that their poſterity ſhould ſo fatally loſe ſight of the politic, humane, and noble precedent, that was ſet them by their fathers.

Under favour of this toleration proteſtantiſm made rapid advances in Poland. By this wiſe act of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, all ſects, whether proteſtant, greek, or arian, enjoyed the full liberty of exerciſing their worſhip, and the right of voting in the diets and of holding the ſame offices as the catholics. None were at the time offended by this act of juſtice: on the contrary, all were glad to ſee that the difference of religion produced none in the political and civil rights of the ſeveral members of the community. As a diſtinction among themſelves, the followers of the different modes of worſhip were called diſſidents: but that name, which has ſince been made a ſignal for proſcription, had nothing then injurious in it; and the ſucceſſors of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, when they ſwore to obſerve the

pacta

pacta conventa, ſwore alſo to preſerve peace among the diſſidents*. When Henry de Valois † was elected king of Poland, he wanted to diſpenſe himſelf from an oath that wounded his intolerant ſuperſtition: but his attempts were in vain. He muſt relinquiſh the crown

* It appears, from the very beginning of the republic, that the term *diſſidents* equally comprehended the greeks, catholics, reformed, and lutherans. The words of that famous conſtitution which was paſſed by the diet, which formed the republic in the year 1573, are, *Nos qui ſumus diſſidentes in religione*, i. e. We who differ in religious matters. In the ſame conſtitution it is declared, that they will acknowledge no man for king or ſovereign, "who ſhall not "confirm by oath all the rights, privileges, and liberties, "which they now enjoy, and which are to be laid before "him after the election. Particularly, he ſhall be bound "to ſwear, that he will maintain the peace among the diſſi-"dents in points of religion." In the conſtitutions of the ſame diet are the following remarkable ſtipulations: "We "will engage, in our own names, and in the names of our "ſucceſſors for ever, by the obligations of our oath, of our "faith, of our honour, and of our conſciences, to preſerve "peace among us who are diſſidents in religion; to ſhed "no blood, nor to inflict on any one the penalties of con-"fiſcation of goods, defamation, impriſonment, or exile, on "account of the difference of our faith, and rites in our "churches. More than that, if any one ſhould undertake, "for the above reaſon, to ſhed the blood of his fellow-"citizens, we ſhould be all obliged to oppoſe him, even "though he ſhould ſhelter himſelf under the pretext of a "decree, or any other judicial act."

† The bigoted and vicious Henry III. of France.

or ſwear to protect the diſſidents: he took the oath.

Thoſe who have not conſidered that perverſe diſpoſition, by which almoſt every denomination of mankind would endeavour to plunder, enſlave, and perſecute every other part of their own ſpecies; and who have not obſerved that words can always be found, when attended with power, to explain away the moſt explicit ſenſe, and the moſt indubitable rights; may well be ſurpriſed how a law, ſo ſolemnly paſſed, and ſo uſeful to the whole community, could be rendered fruitleſs. A law ſanctified by the moſt ſolemn acts, which the framers bound themſelves and their poſterity, by the moſt ſacred oaths, to preſerve inviolate to all futurity, which formed a principal part of the conſtitution of the ſtate, and which every king at his acceſſion was ſworn to obſerve. Yet this law, without any material change, much leſs a ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the country, has been manifeſtly broken through, while three of the religions, which formed the original compact, have been ſpoiled of their rights, liberties, and immunities, by the fourth; and all this outrage and wrong committed under colour and ſanction of the very laws they were tearing to pieces at the inſtant.

However,

However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigiſmund III. had gained an evident ſuperiority, they gave full ſcope to that fiery zeal by which they are made to believe that their religion is the only one that is good, and will not permit them to endure any other. They began by perſecuting the arians, whoſe opinions had already made great progreſs; they proceeded to diveſt them of all their rights, and even to drive them out of Poland. The greek and proteſtant chriſtians, who had aſſiſted in perſecuting the arians, were very ſoon puniſhed for their imprudence. The catholics attacked them in their turn, and ſucceeded in 1733, in entirely excluding them from the diets *.

The

* Upon the death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, in 1574, the poliſh conſtitution was entirely changed, and the nation aſſumed the form of a republic. His grandfather Caſimir III. was the firſt who convened the nobility, in order to oblige them to accept the new impoſitions. Sigiſmund and his father uſed the ſame method; but after his death the whole legiſlative authority fell into the hands of the nobility. At this period, we are told by their hiſtorians, the roman catholics in the kingdom did not bear a proportion in number to the Greeks and reformed, of more than one to ſeven. The grand-marſhal Firley, who convened the firſt diet of the republic, that diet which formed its preſent model, and made the crown elective, was a proteſtant. A perpetual peace betwixt the Greeks, the roman catholics, and the proteſtants, was therein eſtabliſhed as a fundamental

The humiliation they felt on being deprived of the right of ſuffrage, converted many of the Poles to catholiciſm. But if the diſſidents diminiſhed in numbers, thoſe who remained were only ſo much the more attached to their ſects. Againſt theſe proceedings they urged the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, by which their privileges were ſecured, and of which ſo many potentates were the guarantees. The catholics, who ruled alone in the diets, and conſequently

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law of the republic. The wars in Germany under Charles V. and in France under Catharine de Medicis, made them ſenſible of the neceſſity they were under of tolerating each other. They therefore entered into an engagement of mutual defence and affection, and that a difference of religion ſhould never prove the cauſe of civil diſſenſion, unanimouſly reſolving to make an example of that perſon who, under ſuch a pretext, ſhould excite diſturbance. As this law has been repeated in all the public acts, conſtitutions, and pacta conventa, from that time to the preſent, it cannot but be allowed to be a fundamental law: nor can any other law be produced, whoſe ſanction has been more ſolemnly, more conſtantly, and more frequently repeated. However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigiſmund III. had acquired a manifeſt ſuperiority, though they did not think proper openly to controvert it, yet they ſhewed a diſpoſition, when opportunity was favourable, to infringe it, by placing under their ſignatures, *ſalvis juribus eccleſiæ romanæ catholicæ*, with a ſaving to the rights of the roman catholic church. Whereupon the diſſidents, by way of repriſal, wrote under their ſignatures, *ſalva pace inter diſſidentes*, with a ſaving to the peace amongſt the diſſidents.

might

might give ample range to their intolerance, without moleſtation or obſtacle, procured a decree attaching the guilt of high treaſon to ſuch diſſidents as ſhould have recourſe to foreign powers for obtaining the execution of the treaty thus atrociouſly infringed, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws ſo deſpotically repealed. This decree was the finiſhing ſtroke to the patience of the diſſidents. Ruſſia obſerved their indignation, and fanned it in ſecret. The greek diſſidents then addreſſed themſelves to the court of Peterſburg. The proteſtants implored the interceſſion of thoſe of London, Copenhagen, and Berlin. Theſe courts promiſed to ſupport them; and this was the moſt ſpecious pretext for the military interference of Ruſſia. This was the ſtate of affairs at the cloſe of the year 1765.

On the aſſembling of the diet on the 1ſt of September 1766, the miniſters of the protecting courts preſented their memorials in behalf of the diſſidents, which excited a violent murmur. Soltyk, biſhop of Cracow, a haughty and fanatical prelate, maintained that the diſſidents had no right of appeal to privileges that were aboliſhed, and that they had violated the conſtitution of the republic, in having recourſe to the intervention of foreign powers. Not ſatisfied with the iniquitous

laws that had been paſſed againſt the diſſidents, he moved for the enacting of new ones ſtill more ſevere. His opinion was adopted by Maſſalſky, biſhop of Vilna, and a great majority of the nobles, who blindly confounded religious prejudices with political rights; and the oppoſition of ſome perſons, more enlightened or more equitable, occaſioned violent debates. The diſorder roſe to its height. The king attempted to deliver himſelf in favour of more moderate ſentiments: he was abruptly reproached with being an abettor of the enemies of the ſtate. He took the reſolution to retire *. Several other ſittings followed, not leſs ſcandalous than the former; and the terrible laws enacted againſt the diſſidents were imprudently confirmed. The ruſſian troops now advanced to the gates of Warſaw. Prince Repnin demanded in the name of the empreſs, not only a toleration ſecured by law in behalf of the diſſidents, but a

* The biſhop of Kief had already taken the liberty to ſay in an aſſembly, "that if they would take his advice, they "would have the king hanged; as there were ſtill ſurely ſome "men to be found among the Poles charitable enough to "do the ſtate that ſervice." The ſame prelate afterwards proceeded from inſolence to fury, ſo far as to tell the king to his face, in preſence of all the court:—"I formerly uſed "to pray to God for your proſperity; my prayer to him "at preſent is, that he would ſend you to the devil."

complete

complete political equality with the catholic party. This was rejected with a furious triumph. Nothing was now left for the diſſidents, but, what the conſtitution allowed, to confederate: this courſe they immediately adopted under the ruſſian protection. Fear ſeemed for a moment to open the eyes of the diet. It thought to ſatisfy the empreſs by granting the diſſidents ſomewhat more liberty in the exerciſe of their religion. But this palliative was not ſufficient for Catharine. The diſſidents, continuing to inſiſt on an entire equality of rights, formed into divers confederations, which were preſently joined by numbers of catholics, won over by Ruſſia.

This was a lamentable time for Poland; parties and counter-parties, uniting and ſplitting again into others in the moſt unexampled manner. From grievances in religion political feuds aroſe; ſeveral of the diſcontented went over to the diſſidents, without otherwiſe agreeing with them in opinion. A civil war raged now with all its horrors, and ruſſian troops were every day entering the territories of the republic in greater numbers. A general confederation ſprung up, compoſed of the moſt heterogeneous parts, united neither by a common underſtanding nor by the cement of affection: prince Charles Radzivil, who had been abſent from the country,

was their marſhal. This prince had been one of the foremoſt of the opponents to the election of Poniatoſky; for which he had been obliged to quit the country, and ſuffer the confiſcation of his property. He even affected more contempt than hatred towards him. He no ſooner ſaw him abandoned by the Ruſſians, than he united his confederation with thoſe of the diſſidents, and convened the principal leaders of them in his palace in Warſaw, under the very eyes of the monarch.

1767. In this extremity Staniſlaus Auguſtus, who felt the neceſſity of regaining the protection of Ruſſia, aſſembled a diet extraordinary. This diet, however, but ill correſponded with his views. Notwithſtanding the preſence of the ruſſian army, and the haughty behaviour of prince Repnin, who lorded in Warſaw far more than the king himſelf, the biſhop of Cracow and his adherents, as raſh and fanatical as ever, had the preſumption to make ſpeeches againſt the diſſidents, which common prudence, if not ſound reaſon, ſhould have adviſed them againſt. It was not long before they ſuffered for their folly. The ruſſian troops, who had for ſome months nearly ſurrounded as well as interſected the kingdom of Poland, had now cloſely inveſted the

the city of Warſaw, and were in poſſeſſion, and kept ſtrict guards upon all the avenues leading to it. That very evening *, while the biſhop was at table at count Miniſheck's, the ruſſian colonel Igelſtrom, followed by a detachment of ſoldiers, entered the room, in the name of the empreſs, and ſeized on the prelate, without meeting the ſmalleſt reſiſtance from any that were preſent. Prince Repnin dictated to the diet the act of confirmation of the rights of the diſſidents; and, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Poles, who always boaſted of their freedom, cauſed the furious oppoſers of that act in the diet, the biſhop of Kief, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rjeurſky, vayvode of Dolin, his eldeſt ſon †, and ſome other nobles, to be ſeparately arreſted in Warſaw, and, together with the biſhop of Cracow, carried off to Siberia.

The day following this outrage, prince Repnin addreſſed to the confederates a note, in which he pretended that he had only violated the liberty of the Poles for the benefit of Poland ‡.

The

* The 13th of October.

† The ſecond ſon of count Rjeurſky requeſted permiſſion to accompany his father in bondage. He was anſwered, that they had no orders to arreſt him.

‡ The declaration of prince Repnin delivered to the confederated eſtates was as follows: "The troops of her impe-
" rial majeſty, my ſovereign, friends and allies of the confe-
" derated

The members of the diet ſent up an addreſs to the king, requeſting him to demand the priſoners. The king immediately prayed prince Repnin to releaſe them: but Repnin rejected it with diſdain; and they did not return from the deſerts of Siberia till after an exile of ſix years*.

" derated republic, have arreſted the biſhop of Cracow, the " biſhop of Kief, the vayvode of Dolin, &c. for having " failed, by their conduct, in the reſpect that is due " to the dignity of her imperial majeſty, by attacking " the purity of her ſalutary, diſintereſted, and amicable " intentions in favour of the republic. The illuſtrious ge- " neral confederation of the republic, of the crown, and of " Lithuania, being under the protection of her imperial " majeſty, the underſigned notifies this to it, with poſitive " and ſolemn aſſurances of the continuation of that high " protection and of the aſſiſtance and ſupport of her impe- " rial majeſty to the general confederation united for the " preſervation of the poliſh laws and liberties, with redreſs " of all the abuſes that have crept into the government " contrary to the fundamental laws of the country. Her " majeſty is only deſirous of the welfare of the republic, and " will not diſcontinue to grant it her aſſiſtance to the attain- " ment of that end, without any intereſt or pecuniary con- " ſideration; wiſhing for no other than the ſafety, the hap- " pineſs, and the liberty of the poliſh nation, as that has " been already clearly expreſſed in the declarations of her " imperial majeſty, which guarantee to the republic its " actual poſſeſſions, as well as its laws, its form of govern- " ment, and the prerogatives of each individual. Done at " Warſaw, the 14th of October 1767.

(Signed) " NICHOLAS prince REPNIN."

* In the beginning of the year 1773.

In

In the mean time the deliberations of the diet were carried on under the impulſes of fear; and after ſeveral uſeleſs ſittings, a committee was nominated for ſettling the rights of the diſſidents, in concert with the miniſters of the patroniſing courts. They regularly applied for orders to prince Repnin, whoſe anti-chamber was the reſort of the plenipotentiaries from Pruſſia, England, Denmark, and Sweden; and when the committee had received theſe orders, it made a report of them to the diet, who were careful not to contradict them. The diſſidents therefore obtained whatever the ruſſian ambaſſador was pleaſed to demand in their behalf. The ancient laws to which they appealed were once more put in force; and others were enacted which were ſtill more favourable to them. It was, however, nothing more than an act of juſtice, which had nothing againſt it but the manner in which it was performed. They had been arbitrarily aboliſhed; it was therefore but right to reſtore them. The ſole cauſe of affliction to the true friends of the liberty of Poland was a heap of regulations admitted by the orders of Catharine, tending to prolong the troubles and anarchy of that unhappy country, and to leave it for ever without defence againſt the uſurpations which ſhe had in contemplation.

A fer-

A ſervile obedience had ſuddenly ſucceeded in Warſaw to the exceſſes of a proud independence. But this forced ſituation could not long continue. Murmurs were on all lips, and vengeance was in every heart. No ſooner had the diet broke up, but the catholic nobles were clamorous in their complaints on account of the laws promulgated in favour of the diſſidents, and formed new confederations for the defence of the romiſh religion. The confederates had ſtandards, on which were painted the virgin Mary and the infant Jeſus: they, like the cruſaders of the fifteenth century, wore croſſes embroidered on their clothes; and, what was more ridiculous ſtill, they put themſelves under the protection of the Turks; and the diſciples of Mohammed were preparing to fight in the cauſe that bore the name of Chriſt.

Staniſlaus Auguſtus, unable either to inſpire confidence into his ſubjects, or to recover the friendſhip of the Ruſſians, was the ſubject of accuſation to all parties, and lived in his capital more like a priſoner than a king. Catharine might perhaps have pardoned him ſome moments of defection, but the influence of Orloff oppoſed it. Prince Repnin commanded like a deſpot in Warſaw; and, to flatter the favourite of his ſovereign, he let no opportunity eſcape of humi-

humiliating a feeble and unfortunate king. We ſhall juſt cite one ſingle fact to prove what little reſpect the ruſſian ambaſſador had for the poliſh monarch. One evening that the king was at the theatre, the ambaſſador made it late before he came. As he did not appear, the curtain drew up, and the piece began. The performers were in the ſecond act, when a ſort of buſtle being made in the ambaſſador's box, the king ſent a page to know what was the matter. Anſwer was brought that prince Repnin was come, and was ſurpriſed to find that they had not waited for his arrival before the curtain was drawn up. The king ordered the curtain to be dropped, and the piece to begin again.

All Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment the conduct of the court of Ruſſia. It was thought ſcarcely conceivable that Catharine ſhould become, all at once, the enemy of a king whom ſhe herſelf had put upon the throne. But what could the faint remembrance of an extinguiſhed attachment prevail upon the heart of a princeſs, who was aiming, by impoſing ſhackles on Poland, to domineer over the powers of the north, and to make herſelf formidable to thoſe of the ſouth?

She was ſure that the king of Pruſſia deſired nothing better than to ſhare the poliſh provinces with

with her. She managed at her pleaſure both Sweden and Denmark, the one by her intrigues, and the other by the hope ſhe held out to it of the ceſſion of Holſtein. She flattered England by a treaty of alliance and commerce. All ſeemed to concur to favour her ambition.

The duke de Choiſeul, who, under the appearance of levity, concealed a deep and penetrating genius, and who perhaps was deficient in nothing, for being a great miniſter, but more conſtancy in his deſigns, and leſs propenſity to diſſipate the treaſures of France, was the firſt who diſcovered the ſecret views of Catharine. He ſaw that the augmentation of power which ſhe was about to acquire muſt have a natural tendency to diminiſh the conſideration and influence of the court of Verſailles. He reſolved to attack the evil in its ſource, and, to defeat the projects of Ruſſia by diſſipating its means, he fell upon the deſign of involving it in a war with the ottoman porte.

That miniſter then made application to count de Vergennes, ambaſſador from France to Conſtantinople; and, after having ſtated to him the particulars of his apprehenſions, exhorted him to ſecond his projects. The duke de Choiſeul was not ignorant either of the weakneſs and decline of the ottoman empire, nor the vices of a govern-

a government which were the ſole cauſe of that weakneſs: but he ſtill thought it capable of giving Ruſſia employment for a good while to come; and whatever might be the ſucceſs of the war, he wiſhed them to undertake it.

Vergennes adminiſtered with no leſs ability than zeal to the views of his court. A long reſidence in Turkey had ſupplied him with an intimate knowledge of the principal members of the divan, and the means of ſucceeding with it. He employed thoſe means. He repreſented to the ottoman miniſters how unjuſt and dangerous it was that Ruſſia ſhould dare to violate the rights of the Poles, and invade their territory. He convinced them that the demarcation of the limits exacted by the court of Peterſburg would be attended with conſequences fatal to the ſecurity of the Euxine; and he adviſed them reſolutely to oppoſe that demarcation*.

The porte, whom the poliſh confederates had already petitioned for ſuccour, immediately

* The duke de Choiſeul had authoriſed M. de Vergennes to employ the moſt efficacious meaſures for inducing the Turks to declare war againſt Ruſſia. "If you have any "expectation to ſucceed, if you think it poſſible," he writes to him, "every neceſſary ſupply of money ſhall be "tranſmitted to you." M. de Vergennes had the merit of wiſhing to employ no other means than thoſe of perſuaſion. They were ſufficient with him.

complied with the advice of Vergennes. The turkiſh miniſtry ſent a note to the king of Poland, requeſting that the regulation of the limits might be ſuſpended till ſome explanations ſhould be given him of a nature to remove his alarms concerning the danger with which the ceſſion of the poliſh territory threatened the ottoman empire. But Staniſlaus Auguſtus, who was for ever afraid of giving umbrage to Catharine, and who was deſirous, whatever it might coſt him, of regaining her friendſhip, anſwered the grand ſignor, that there was not the leaſt propoſal of altering the limits between Ruſſia and Poland; and having received this aſſurance, the divan returned for ſome time into its accuſtomed apathy.

The court of Peterſburg then* concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with that of London; a treaty which extended the privileges of the Engliſh, lowered the duties of importation on their merchandize, and granted them great advantages. Her natural inclination for England, as well as the deſire of ſecuring additional ſuccours in the war which ſhe was meditating againſt the Turks, determined Catharine to ſeek the alliance of the court of London.

* In the month of December.

Juſt

Juſt at this time, when Catharine was diſplaying her partiality in the moſt ſignal manner to the britiſh nation, an affair of gallantry between the miniſter of the latter and one of the maids of honour became ſo public, that the empreſs could no longer pretend to be ignorant of it; ſhe therefore diſmiſſed the guilty lady from her poſt, and forbad, for ſome time, the miniſter to appear at court.

The ſeverity ſhewn on this occaſion by Catharine formed doubtleſs a ſtriking contraſt with ſome parts of her own behaviour. It ſeems impoſſible that ſhe could ſo ſtrangely deceive herſelf as to imagine that the world was not aware of the indulgencies ſhe permitted herſelf; but it is nevertheleſs certain, that ſhe ſometimes put on, in the preſence of thoſe who knew her beſt, as great an auſterity of manners as attachment to religion. Two ladies* of her court, one of whom had formerly been her confidante, being at a maſquerade, were talking pretty loud concerning one of their admirers: the empreſs went up to them, and, with a ſtern countenance, ordered them to leave the ball-room, ſince they knew no better than to pay ſo little regard to decorum.

* Madame Nariſhkin and Madame Goloffkin.

The diſtance Catharine often found it neceſſary to aſſume could neither be ſuppoſed to gain her the affection of her courtiers, nor to contribute to reſtore tranquillity to the empire. Princeſs Daſhkoff had been, for the ſecond time, baniſhed to Moſco. That young lady, who ſeemed to find her greateſt pleaſure in braving dangers, revenged herſelf for the ingratitude ſhe thought ſhe experienced, by revealing the crimes of the conſpiracy in which ſhe had acted a principal part, and in fomenting the diſcontents againſt the empreſs. Without eſteeming princeſs Daſhkoff, many perſons partook in her reſentments; and the poiſon of ſedition, artfully mingled by her, was making new progreſs from day to day.

Being informed of the murmurs at Moſco, Catharine feigned to deſpiſe them, and reſolved to ſuppreſs them by her preſence. But as the ſeverity of the winter would ſcarcely permit her to take a long journey, ſhe endeavoured, in the mean time, to divert the diſaffected by the tumult of the pleaſures ſhe contrived for the court. The inhabitants at St. Peterſburg now ſaw two or three tournaments, at which the ruſſian courtiers, arrayed in the habits and the armour of the ancient knights in the days of chivalry, diſplayed more magnificence than gallantry,

lantry, and greater ſtrength than dexterity. Theſe ſhows, which were continued for ſeveral days, were beheld with general diſapprobation, as frivolous and expenſive.

In the amphitheatre erected on purpoſe for the occaſion were two ſuperb boxes, for the empreſs and the grand duke. In the centre of the arena was raiſed a throne, whereon ſat the grand judge of the exerciſes, ſurrounded by forty officers, four heralds at arms, and two trumpets for the purpoſe of giving ſignals. Beſides theſe, at four ſeveral places, all equally diſtant from the circus, were kettle-drums and trumpets, making warlike muſic during the whole time of the carouzel. In ſhort, nothing was neglected that could contribute to the magnificence and effect of the exhibition.

The dames and knights of the tournaments were divided into four quadrilles or troops of horſe, repreſenting combatants of four different nations: Sclavonians, Turks, Indians, and Romans; all perfectly obſerving the cuſtoms of thoſe nations, in their dreſs and ornaments, in their chariots, in their muſic, and attendants; and were all, ladies and knights, adorned with ſuch a profuſion of gold and ſilver, pearls, and precious ſtones, on their gorgeous dreſſes of velvet,

ſilks, feathers, and ermine, that they might truly be ſaid* to

"Shine with the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
"Or what the gorgeous eaſt, with richeſt hand,
"Showers on her kings, barbaric pearl and gold."

But that of the Romans, led on by count Gregory Orloff, was brilliant beyond deſcription. The dreſs of his brother count Alexèy Orloff, chief of the turkiſh cohort, was likewiſe particularly ſplendid.

The four quadrilles rode in great pomp through the principal ſtreets of the city, previous to their aſſembling in the circus.

The ladies of the court jouſted at theſe tournaments, as well as the chevaliers. Tilting at the ring, cutting off the heads of ferocious animals and Saracens, artificially repreſented, then toſſing up the head and catching it on the point of the ſabre, letting off a piſtol at a ſhield, with a variety of atchievements of a ſimilar nature, all performed at full gallop and exactly in time with the muſic, formed the other parts of this magnificent entertainment.

When the carouzel, which had been repeated with conſiderable variations for ſeveral days, was

* With a ſlight alteration from Milton.

ended,

ended, and the company were drawn up in their reſpective troops, the famous marſhal count Munich, who had been appointed grand judge of the field, previous to decreeing the prizes, delivered the following ſpeech, which ſhews that the veteran ſoldier was not unacquainted with the art of flattery:

"Illuſtrious ladies and chevaliers,

"None of you is ignorant that not a ſingle "day paſſes, not a ſingle moment, in which we "do not behold the attention of our moſt "gracious ſovereign, towards augmenting the "ſplendour of her empire, towards enlarging the "ſphere of the happineſs of her ſubjects in "general, and towards adding in particular to "the luſtre of her nobility.

"That incomparable ſovereign has made "choice of this grand day, for giving the prime "nobility of her empire an opportunity for "ſignalizing their addreſs and agility in the "martial exerciſes of a brilliant carouzel, and "ſuch as has never yet been ſeen in Ruſſia. "Who does not ſhare with me the ſentiments "of admiration and gratitude ſo juſtly due to "her majeſty for this act of goodneſs and "maternal care?

"Illuſtrious ladies and chevaliers, you have "acquitted yourſelves, in theſe noble exerciſes,

" in a manner worthy of your birth, and adapted " to give you the assurance of having merited " the gracious regard of her majesty, the favour " of monseigneur the grand duke, and universal " applause."

Then, turning towards countess Boutturlin*, who had gained the principal prize, and which was valued at 5000 rubles, he said,

" It is to you, madam, to whom her imperial " majesty authorises me to present the principal " prize, the acquisition of an uncommon dexte- " rity and grace which have won the suffrages " of all beholders. Permit me, madam, to be " the first to congratulate you on that honourable " distinction, which confers on you the right of " distributing with your victorious hands, the " rest of the prizes to the ladies and the " chevaliers.

" As for me, become hoary under arms during " a space of sixty-five years of service†; I, the " most aged in years as well as the oldest general " in Europe; after having had the glory of " leading the russian armies more than once " to victory; I regard, as the recompence and

* Countess Boutturlin was sister to princess Dashkoff and countess Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontzoff, the favourite of Peter III.

† He was at that time 84 years of age.

" the

" the crown of all my toils, the honour to have " been this day, not only the witneſs, but the " firſt umpire of your reſplendent exploits."

After this the company, to the amount of ſome hundred perſons, ſat down to a ſplendid ſupper, the deſſert at the concluſion of which admirably repreſented the circus wherein the carouzel had been performed. All the imperial ſummer-gardens were illuminated throughout, the walks lighted with numerous arches of lamps burning with naphtha, temples of one general radiance, illuminated fountains, and magnificent fireworks; the whole feſtival terminating with a maſquerade in theſe gardens, which continued till day-light the following morning.

But Catharine knew alſo how beſt to employ more worthy means for eſtabliſhing her authority. She ſtill buſied herſelf in making reforms and the erection of uſeful inſtitutions. She corrected the tribunals, ſhe founded ſchools, ſhe built hoſpitals, and planted colonies. She endeavoured to infuſe into her people a love for the laws, and to ſoften their manners by inſtruction. Jealous of a power that knew no bounds, greedy of every ſpecies of glory, ſhe was determined to be at once both conqueror and legiſlatrix. Amidſt conſpiracies formed for overturning her throne, occupied with preparations for war,

which ſeemed ſufficient to arreſt her whole attention, and yet finding time for attachments of gallantry, ſhe was unmindful of nothing that could attract the reverence of mankind, and captivate their admiration.

There was at that time no country where the juriſprudence was more perplexed and uncertain than in Ruſſia. The intricate code of Alexey Michailovitch, compiled that it might ſerve as the baſis of legiſlation, was, if not abrogated, at leaſt contradicted by the numerous edicts of his ſucceſſors, which were always dictated by the intereſt or the caprice of the moment. The laws of this vaſt empire were voluminous to a degree of the greateſt abſurdity, were perplexed, inſufficient, in many caſes contradictory, and ſo loaded with precedents, reports, caſes, and opinions, that they afforded an eternal ſcene of altercation, and were ſcarcely to be reconciled or underſtood by the very profeſſors of them. The particular laws of the different provinces were alſo continually interfering and claſhing, and cauſed ſuch confuſion, that the whole preſented an endleſs chaos, and effaced almoſt every trace of original ſyſtem or deſign. The ſenate, the colleges, all the tribunals of the empire, embarraſſed by ſo many authorities and ſuch oppoſite laws, protracted cauſes without end,

or

or terminated them without juſtice. To theſe evils a greater yet was added, the venality of the judges and their unlimited power*.

Catharine reſolved to apply a remedy to all theſe diſorders. She proſecuted what ſhe had begun in the ſenate and in the colleges by forming them into ſeparate departments, which, having each but one line of buſineſs, could neceſſarily proceed in a more regular courſe, execute their buſineſs with much greater diſpatch, and give fewer openings to artifice and chicane. In order then to deprive the judges of all pretext or excuſe for either negligence or prevarication, ſhe augmented the emoluments of their offices, a means unhappily inſufficient, but which proves that Catharine was well acquainted with the ſpirit of the nation which ſhe governed. Indeed, if the magiſtrates had been poſſeſſed of any virtue, would it not be rather from the ſentiment of reputation, than by pecuniary recompences, that they would have been ſtimulated to juſtice? The empreſs therefore put in motion that ſpring which ſhe thought would act with the greateſt force upon them.

* The loweſt judge, who frequently had never learnt to read, uſed arbitrarily to put culprits to the torture to extort confeſſion, and condemn a man to the knoot, or to be baniſhed into Siberia.

She tells them in the ukaſe ſhe publiſhed on the occaſion:—"Indigence may perhaps "hitherto have given you a propenſity to ſelf-"intereſt; but now the country itſelf rewards "your labours, and therefore what might here-"tofore have been pardonable, will hence-"forward be criminal."—

Catharine did more than augment the ſalaries of the judges; ſhe ſecured to them an appointment of half-pay for that ſeaſon of life when age and infirmities ſhould oblige them to retire.

Theſe primary matters being arranged, the empreſs ſet herſelf to work on a new code.

All the provinces of Ruſſia, not excepting the barbarous nations who dwell in the remoteſt parts of that vaſt empire, had orders to ſend deputies to Moſco, to preſent their ideas on the laws that were the fitteſt for their peculiar exigencies. Catharine herſelf repaired to that antient capital. The opening of the ſtates was held with extraordinary pomp. It was ſurely an intereſting and novel tranſaction, to ſee deputies of numerous people, different in their manners, their dreſs, their languages; and they themſelves muſt have been aſtoniſhed at being here thus aſſembled for diſcuſſing their laws, people who had never thought about law but to obey the arbitrary

arbitrary will of a maſter, whom it often happened that they did not know.

The empreſs, deſirous to leave this aſſembly the appearances of the completeſt liberty, had a ſort of gallery conſtructed in the hall in ſuch manner, that, without being perceived, ſhe could ſee and hear all that paſſed. The buſineſs was begun by reading the inſtructions tranſlated into the ruſſian language, the original whereof, in french, almoſt entirely in the hand-writing of Catharine, has ſince been depoſited, encloſed in a magnificent caſe of ſilver gilt, in an apartment of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg.

" The ſovereigns of Ruſſia poſſeſſed the moſt " extenſive dominions of the world, and every " thing was yet to be done: at laſt," ſays M. de Voltaire*, " Peter was born and Ruſſia was " formed;" that is, doubtleſs, to ſay, that at this period it aroſe out of chaos. The bare idea of making it was grand, and its execution might juſtly excite aſtoniſhment. Tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, his father, had already ſketched out the work, and it muſt be confeſſed that Peter advanced it to a ſurpriſing degree. To leave

* Hiſtory of the ruſſian empire, vol. i. p. 74.

his

his country, that he might return to govern it with greater glory; to go and ſeek light in all parts where it enlightened mankind; to ſubmit for ſeveral years to be the diſciple of other nations, in order to become the maſter and the reformer of his own; to work as a ſimple carpenter at Saardam, to prepare himſelf for creating a navy that ſhould be formidable to his enemies; to lower himſelf to a common ſoldier, in order to become a great commander; to form on all hands eſtabliſhments of great utility, till then unknown to his ſubjects; to attack at once all the abuſes both in church and ſtate, in the manners and cuſtoms that had been moſt ſanctioned by inveterate habit; to extend reformation and care to every particular that was deſerving of them; to temper the ſeverity of his diſcipline by the total abolition of the word ſlave; to mix pomp with toil, and annex proſperity to triumphs; all together characteriſed him as the great genius, the great man, and the great monarch.

But if that prince, ſo juſtly renowned to all poſterity, poliſhed his country in ſo many reſpects; if he made regulations, worthy of admiration and praiſe, with all this he framed no permanent laws, and much leſs a ſyſtem of legiſ-

lation that ſhould embrace all objects. That great work* was left for Catharine II. She alone conceived the grand idea of undertaking it, and ſhe alone had the courage to put it in execution. A code of laws, and eſpecially laws founded on wiſdom, is the nobleſt preſent that can be made to a people: no woman had yet been a legiſlatrix; and that part the empreſs of Ruſſia reſolved to act.

The reading of the inſtructions was frequently interrupted by burſts of applauſe. All preſent extolled the ſagacity, the wiſdom, the humanity of the ſovereign. But fear and flattery had a greater ſhare in theſe exclamations than an admiration proceeding from a juſt knowledge of the matter. They hoped, perhaps, by that means to attract the favour of the empreſs, or at leaſt to eſcape Siberia. The deputies of the Samoyedes alone had the courage to ſpeak freely. One of them ſtood up in the name of his brethren, and ſaid,—"We are a ſimple and honeſt people. "We quietly tend our rein-deer. We are in "no want of a new code: but make laws for the

* This work may be chiefly taken from the writings of Monteſquieu, and ſeveral others of the french philoſophers; but it muſt always redound to the glory of Catharine that ſhe had the liberality of mind to draw from ſuch ſources.

"Ruſſians,

" Ruſſians, our neighbours, that may put a " ſtop to their depredations."

The following ſittings did not paſs ſo quietly. Much had been ſaid about giving liberty to the boors. Some thouſands of this oppreſſed claſs of beings were preparing to ſupport by force what they expected from equity. The nobility dreaded an inſurrection: they dreaded, above all, a defalcation of their revenues; and ſome nobles were raſh enough to aſſert, that they would poignard the firſt man who ſhould move for the affranchiſement of the vaſſals*. Notwithſtanding this, however, count Scheremetoff, the richeſt individual of all Ruſſia†, got up, and declared that he would willingly agree to this affranchiſement. The debate was carried on with great warmth, which grew to ſuch a height, that fatal conſequences were to be apprehended; and the deputies were diſmiſſed to their reſpective provinces.

However, previous to the diſſolution of this aſſembly, the members were required to ſignalize the meeting by ſome conſpicuous act of

* This fact has been ſeveral times atteſted by Andrew Schuvaloff, known in France by his pretty epiſtle to Ninon.

† Potemkin was not as yet favourite. Count Scheremetoff poſſeſſed an annual income of 170,000 pounds ſterling. He had belonging to him 150,000 peaſants.

grati-

gratitude. It was thought right that, though the benefit that was intended for the ſubjects ſhould be loſt to them, it ought not to be ſo to the ſovereign, who had conceived the noble idea of it. Accordingly, by a general acclamation, the titles of Great, Wiſe, Prudent, and Mother of the Country, were decreed to that princeſs; but when ſhe was petitioned to accept of thoſe titles, ſhe anſwered, with an aſſumed modeſty, "That if ſhe had rendered herſelf "worthy of the firſt, it belonged to poſterity "to confer it upon her; that wiſdom and pru-"dence were the gifts of heaven, for which ſhe "daily gave thanks, without preſuming to "derive any merit from them herſelf; that "laſtly, the title of mother of the country was "the moſt dear of all in her eyes, the only one "that ſhe could accept, and which ſhe regarded "as the moſt benign and glorious recompence "for her labours and ſolicitudes in behalf of a "people whom ſhe loved."

Proud of the work which had obtained her ſuch flattering marks of homage, Catharine eagerly diſpatched copies of her inſtructions to the ſovereigns whoſe approbation ſhe moſt coveted. They complimented her on her laborious enterpriſe, and made no heſitation to pronounce that it would be an eternal monument to her

her glory. The king of Pruſſia, who knew how ſenſible ſhe was to praiſe, and who was always laviſh of it with leſs delicacy than eaſe, wrote to her a long letter, which, among other things, contained this flattering obſervation: "No "woman has hitherto been a legiſlatrix. That "glory was reſerved for the empreſs of Ruſſia, "who well deſerves it."

The empreſs received this letter* at Kaſan, having had a deſire to viſit her provinces in Aſia, and the famous ſhores of the Volga.

Count Solms, miniſter of the king of Pruſſia, on ſending this letter to count Panin, wrote him a note to the following purport: "I haſten to tranſmit to your excellency the letter which the king my maſter has had the honour to compoſe, in anſwer to that with which her imperial majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accompany the preſent of her inſtruction for the formation of the new code in Ruſſia, ordering me to cauſe it to be preſented to her imperial majeſty. He ſubjoins, with his own hand, in the diſpatch which he has addreſſed to me: "I have read with "admiration the work of the empreſs. I was "not willing to tell her all that I think of it, "becauſe ſhe might have ſuſpected me of flat-

* Which ſee in the appendix, No. VI.

"tery;

" tery; but I may ſay to you, with due defer-
" ence to modeſty, that it is a maſculine per-
" formance, nervous, and worthy of a great
" man. We are told by hiſtory, that Semi-
" ramis commanded armies. Queen Elizabeth
" has been accounted a good politician. The
" empreſs-queen has ſhewn great intrepidity on
" her acceſſion to the throne; but no woman
" has ever been a legiſlatrix. That glory was
" reſerved for the empreſs of Ruſſia, who
" deſerves it."

It certainly redounds much to the praiſe of Catharine, that theſe inſtructions are founded on the principles of an enlightened humanity; and that, though autocratrix and of unlimited power, ſhe recognizes no legitimate authority but that which is founded on juſtice; every particular in her laws has a tendency to enervate deſpotiſm, and to render a juſt authority reſpectable. Her purpoſe is to form a ſolid, and not an arbitrary legiſlation. Her whole plan is directed to prevent all thoſe who govern under her from exerciſing a capricious and cruel authority, by ſubjecting them to invariable laws, which no authority ſhould be able to infringe.

The accompliſhment of this grand deſign, however, did not proceed ſo eaſily as the firſt ſteps gave room to expect. Either it was found that the plan of a convocation of the nation by

its deputies was beginning at too high a pitch, and that in an aſſembly compoſed of ſuch a diverſity of tribes, manners, and tongues, it would be impoſſible to come to any common concluſions; or the whole apparatus was uſed only as a machine, and ſuffered to fall when it had anſwered the end for which it was contrived.

A few articles in theſe inſtructions will ſuffice to ſhew the principles on which they are drawn up.

" The ſpirit of the nation, the nation itſelf, " ought to be conſulted in the framing of " laws.

" Theſe laws ſhould be conſidered no other- " wiſe than as a means of conducting mankind " to the greateſt happineſs,

" It is our duty to mitigate the lot of thoſe " who live in a ſtate of dependence.

" The liberty and the ſecurity of the citizens " ought to be the grand and precious objects " of all laws; they ſhould all tend to render " life, honour, and property, as ſtable and ſe- " cure as the conſtitution of the government " itſelf.

" The liberty of the ſubjects ought only to be " reſtricted concerning what it would be diſad- " vantageous to them to do.

" In cauſes purely civil, the laws ſhould be " ſo clear and preciſe, that the judgments re-

" ſulting

" ſulting from them be always in perfect uni-
" formity in the ſame caſes; in order to remove
" that juriſprudence of deciſions, which is ſo
" often a ſource of uncertainties, of errors, or
" acts of injuſtice, according as a cauſe has been
" well or ill defended at one time or at another,
" gained or loſt according to influence or cir-
" cumſtances."

We read with equal pleaſure the inſtructions ſhe preſcribes to be followed in the criminal conſtitution:

" It is incomparably better to prevent crimes
" than to puniſh them.

" The life of the meaneſt citizen is of conſe-
" quence; and no one ſhould be deprived of it,
" except when it is attacked or required by the
" country.

" In like manner his liberty ſhould be re-
" ſpected, by being difficult about impriſon-
" ment, by carefully diſtinguiſhing the caſes
" where the laws will diſpenſe with it, as alſo
" thoſe in which the public ſafety requires arreſt-
" ation, detention, or formal impriſonment,
" and in this caſe even concerning different
" priſons.

" In the methods of trial, the uſe of torture
" is contrary to ſound reaſon. Humanity cries

" out againſt this practice, and inſiſts on its " being aboliſhed.

" A priſoner is not to be ſacrificed to the " torrent of opinions. Judgment muſt be " nothing but the preciſe text of the law; and " the office of the judge is only to pronounce " whether the action is conformable or contrary " to it."

Concerning puniſhments:

" The aim of puniſhment is not to torment " ſenſible beings.

" All puniſhment is unjuſt when it is not " neceſſary to the maintenance of the public " ſafety.

" The atrocity of puniſhments is reprobated " by the compaſſion that is due to human na- " ture: whenever it is uſeleſs, it is a ſufficient " reaſon to regard it as unjuſt, and, as ſuch, to " reject it.

" In the ordinary ſtate of ſociety, the death " of a citizen is neither uſeful nor neceſſary."

All that follows under this head, touching the proportion that ſhould be obſerved between crimes and puniſhments; on the rarity of the caſes where the crime deſerves death; on the rule to be obſerved in confiſcations, which the empreſs would not extend beyond acquired property,

property, and a number of other ideas are ſuch as could only proceed from goodneſs of heart and profound meditation. The whole amount of the articles of her inſtructions is in number 525; and the very publication and diſperſion of the book throughout the empire has been attended with ſalutary effects. It was doubtleſs a great and arduous undertaking, and worthy of an exalted mind. The laws of this vaſt empire were voluminous to a degree of the greateſt abſurdity, were perplexed, inſufficient, in many caſes contradictory, and ſo loaded with precedents, caſes, and opinions, that they afforded an eternal ſcene of altercation, and were ſcarcely to be reconciled or underſtood by the very profeſſors of them. The particular laws of the different provinces were alſo continually interfering and claſhing, and cauſed ſuch confuſion that the whole preſented an endleſs chaos, and effaced almoſt every trace of original ſyſtem or deſign. This augean ſtable the empreſs was determined to cleanſe; and though the ſucceſs of her patriotic attempt has not as yet been complete, yet, in conſequence of it, a great ſimplification has taken place in the laws, and a milder and more impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

The inſtruction of the empreſs is not a law-book itſelf. She only ſays, "Such regulations

" ſhould be made.—In the firſt place, it ſhould " be examined, whether," &c. But what excellent ſuggeſtions are thus delivered, which certainly have produced, and muſt continue to produce, great effects. Thus we find it ſaid, chap. xi. " Peter I. promulgated a law in 1722, " that perſons who were not of ſound mind, and " who oppreſs their ſerfs, ſhould be put under " guardians. The former point of this law has " been kept up; why the latter is not enforced " is not known." Again, chap. xii. " It ſeems " too, that the new manner in which noblemen " exact their dues from the peaſantry is hurtful " to population. There is ſcarcely a village " which does not pay certain tributes to its lord " in money. The lord, who never, or but " very rarely, ſees his village, impoſes on every " head a tax of one, two, and even to five rubles, " without concerning himſelf how the peaſant is " to pay that ſum. It will be abſolutely indiſ- " penſable to preſcribe laws to the nobility, " obliging them to act more circumſpectly in " the manner of levying their dues, and to " require of the peaſant tributes of ſuch a nature " as ſhall remove him as little as poſſible from " his houſe and family. By this means agricul- " ture will be better followed, and the popula-

" tion

" tion of the empire be increaſed. At preſent, " a labourer leaves his home at the age of fifteen, " to go and ſeek his ſubſiſtence in diſtant towns; " roams about the empire, and pays his dues " annually from what he earns."

" If, for ſome political reaſon, it be not prac- " ticable to free the boors throughout the empire " from their vaſſalage, yet means ſhould be " thought of to enable them to acquire property. " In purſuance of this idea, ſhould not a method " be deviſed for gradually bettering the condi- " tion of this lower claſs of people?" Is not ſuch language, which evinces ſo much ſagacity and benevolence, the fitteſt for the mouth of a monarch who is deſirous of making improvements, without undertaking the boiſterous and intemperate part of an auſtere reformer? It is a great matter, if a prince ſhews that he underſtands the vices of the country, and knows how they may be remedied. Suppoſe even that nothing farther is done, muſt not every conſiderate ſpectator feel himſelf inclined to believe that this ſagacity and this benevolence has met with difficulties which were abſolutely not to be overcome? But ſuch words are never loſt: under Catharine much was effected by what ſhe planned with prudent moderation. In ſome

places, however, ſhe expreſſes herſelf deciſively, and with command; and wherever this is the caſe, the inſtruction retains the virtual force of a law.

The whole performance is an excellent compendium of choice obſervations, of juſt maxims, and of generous ſentiments; and at the ſame time a beautiful collection of ſtriking paſſages from the celebrated philoſophers of Greece and Rome, of apt examples from ancient and modern hiſtory, from the manners of cultivated and ſavage nations, and even from ſuch nations as are not ſo well known to the reſt of Europe, for inſtance, the Chineſe and other Aſiatics. Whoever would make himſelf acquainted with the philoſophy of legiſlation, might reap conſiderable advantage by taking it as his manual.

In addition to the paſſages above cited from this work, as a ſpecimen of the ſentiments of Catharine, it will not be amiſs to extract a few others, if it be only to ſhew, that upwards of thirty years ago a monarch delivered the beſt of thoſe which, in the opinion of ſome, were firſt diſcovered by the republicans of the preſent day. A lofty philoſophical ſtation is taken in the 6th chapter: " Several things rule over " mankind, the religion, the climate, the laws, " the maxims of government, the examples of

" things paſt, the manners, the cuſtoms, from " which, as the reſult, a public mind is formed." Elucidations of this maxim from the characteriſtics of various nations ſucceed to this. Then, " It is " the buſineſs of the legiſlator to follow the tem- " per of the nation; for we do nothing better than " what we do voluntarily, and in purſuance of our " natural diſpoſition. For eſtabliſhing a more " perfect legiſlation, it is neceſſary that the " minds of men ſhould be previouſly prepared " for it. But in order to defeat the pretext " uſually alleged, that it is not poſſible to do " good, becauſe the minds are not yet diſpoſed " to admit it, take the pains to prepare them for " it; this will be already a great ſtep advanced." " When it is intended to make great changes in a " nation, that may turn to its benefit, that which " has been eſtabliſhed by laws ſhould be reform- " ed by laws; and what cuſtom has brought into " practice ſhould be changed by cuſtom; and it " is very bad policy to change by laws what ought " to be changed by cuſtom."

Chap. viii. of puniſhments. " Examine with " attention into the cauſe of all relaxations, and " it will be ſeen that they ariſe from the impunity " of crimes, and not from the moderation of " puniſhments."—" It often happens that a " legiſlator, who intends to correct an evil, con-

" fines

" fines his thoughts to that correction: his eyes " are open to that object, and ſhut to the incon- " veniencies attending it."—Chap. ix. " If you " conſider the formalities of juſtice in regard to " the trouble a citizen has to obtain his right, or " to obtain ſatisfaction for ſome injury, you will " doubtleſs find it too great; if you regard them " in the relation they bear to the liberty and " ſecurity of the citizens, you will often find it " too little, and you will ſee that the puniſh- " ments, the expences, the delays, even the " danger of the deciſion, are the price that " every citizen pays for his liberty." Not to be farther tedious, we will conclude with the following: " Would you prevent crimes? Con- " trive that the laws favour leſs the different " orders of citizens, than each citizen in parti- " cular. Let men fear the laws, and nothing " but the laws. Would you prevent crimes? " Provide that reaſon and knowledge be more " and more diffuſed among mankind. To con- " clude, the moſt ſure, but the moſt difficult " method of making men better is by rendering " education more complete." Nothing that relates to government is left untouched in this little book. The maxims of politics, of tole- ration, and of juſtice, are thus loudly and pow- erfully delivered from the throne, and have thereby

thereby received, as it were, one ſanction more.

Still proceeding on the ſame enlarged and enlightened plan which we have before had occaſion to commend, the empreſs continued to cultivate and encourage the arts and ſciences; to make her empire an aſylum to the learned and ingenious; and to reform the manners and inſtruct the minds of the people, through the extent of its moſt diſtant provinces.

The tranſit of the planet Venus over the ſun, which was to happen in the ſummer of 1769, added a new opportunity of ſhewing as well her munificence, as the attention ſhe paid to aſtronomy. This great princeſs wrote a letter from Moſco with her own hand, to count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy of ſciences at Peterſburg*; wherein ſhe deſires the academy to inform her of the moſt proper places in her dominions for the making of thoſe obſervations; with an offer to ſend workmen and artiſts, and to conſtruct buildings in all thoſe places which the academy may think proper for the purpoſe, and to grant every other aſſiſtance to the undertaking which it may require. She

* For which the reader is referred to the appendix to this volume, No. VII.

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alſo deſired, if there was not a ſufficient number of aſtronomers in the academy to make obſervations in all the places required, to give her notice, that ſhe might ſend a proper number of the officers of her marine, to qualify themſelves under the eye of the profeſſors in the academy, for that undertaking. Such is the extent of that vaſt empire, that the obſervations which were made, both on the tranſit and exit of this planet, the one in the frozen regions towards the pole, and the other on the borders of the Caſpian, were made within its own limits; to ſome part of which aſtronomers from every part of Europe went to behold that remarkable occurrence.

The academy at Peterſburg applied to a member of the royal ſociety of London, to procure the neceſſary inſtruments for the purpoſe of proceeding ſucceſsfully in that important obſervation*. Mr. Ramoſſky, who was the writer upon this occaſion, candidly acknowledged the great joy of the academy, and their obligations to Mr. Short, for procuring them thoſe inſtruments; and confeſſed their doubts of being able to anſwer the views of the empreſs, till they had received his letter.

* Appendix, No. VII.

What

What appears ſomewhat ſurpriſing is, that while Catharine was ſtriving to build her fame upon a ſolid baſis, ſhe made it a matter of much importance to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the title of Imperial majeſty, which ſome of them had refuſed her. The king of Sweden had long ſince given it to Catharine; but the ſwediſh diet could not be brought to grant it till the commencement of this year*.

1768.] Lewis XV. pertinaciouſly delayed to mention her by that ſtyle. Knowing that the ſovereigns of Ruſſia only began to aſſume the title of emperor in the time of Peter the great, he conſidered them in ſome ſort as a new nobility: not conſidering that it is the power of princes, and not the antiquity of their race, on which their rights are built. This refuſal of the king of France mortified Catharine; but this was not the only reaſon ſhe had to be irritated againſt him. She had no doubt that this monarch was informed of all the ſecrets of the conſpiracy that had placed her on the throne; and ſhe knew, beſides, that the ambaſſador of France at the Porte, had been labouring long to make the Turks declare againſt Ruſſia.

* The 6th of February.

What

What then would ſhe have thought if ſhe had read a letter concerning this, written by the duke de Choiſeul?—"We know," ſaid he, "the ill-"judged animoſity of the court of Ruſſia againſt "France. The king ſo heartily deſpiſes at "once the princeſs who reigns in that country, "and her ſentiments and her conduct, that it is "our intention not to take a ſingle ſtep towards "inducing her to change them. The king "thinks that the hatred of Catharine II. is "far more honourable than her friendſhip. At "the ſame time he is deſirous of avoiding an "open rupture."

But the ſhuffling tricks of a foreign court and the dangers of war could cauſe no great diſturbance to Catharine; perhaps they were even as neceſſary to her as the cares ſhe beſtowed on the adminiſtration of the empire, for eluding the bitterneſs of ſuch reflections as might occaſionally ariſe in her mind. She often imagined that in one adverſe moment ſhe might be deſpoiled of the fruit of her labours and ingenuity, and that ſome of her ſubjects might be ardently wiſhing for its arrival. The name of Peter III. was become dear to the Ruſſians. They recollected with pleaſure the good he had done, and the deſire he had of doing more: they forgot his failings and infirmities, expiated by

by a ſeries of misfortunes. They lamented the deplorable end of that prince; and the multitude of malcontents diſperſed throughout the empire, might ſecretly contain more than one avenger.

Senſibly touched with the deplorable death of the tzar, and incenſed at ſeeing his murderers ſharing his power, a young officer, named Tſchoglokoff, reſolved to avenge it, and even thought himſelf inſpired with the deſign by the ſuggeſtions of heaven. After having long reflected on the means of executing his ſanguinary project, he reſorted to the palace for ſeveral days in ſucceſſion, always lurking in ſome of the dark paſſages leading to the inner apartments, to which the empreſs retired when ſhe wiſhed to be alone. The preſervation of her majeſty was on this occaſion owing to an accidental circumſtance, by preventing her from going, according to cuſtom, along the paſſage where Tſchoglokoff was waiting her coming. Diſconcerted by a delay which he had not foreſeen, and impatient to ſtrike the blow which he thought beneficial to his country, and glorious to himſelf, this young man had the imprudence to truſt his ſecret to another officer whom he thought his friend. This officer ran in haſte to betray him. Orloff, thus informed of the meaſures

ſures that were taken by Tſchoglokoff, and the inſtant when he was again to expect the empreſs, cauſed him to be arreſted in his ambuſcade. He was found armed with a long poignard, and confeſſed, without heſitation, the uſe for which he deſigned it. Catharine, always ſufficiently miſtreſs of herſelf for concealing her indignation and her fears, pretended to forgive the raſh attempt of the youth, whom political fanaticiſm had deluded from his duty. She even had him brought into her preſence, and ſpoke to him with mildneſs. This generoſity was only apparent. Catharine wiſhed to conceal from the public a wicked deſign, which, if it had been known, might ſoon have been imitated. But, as ſhe did not flatter herſelf with the hopes of entirely converting a man who, from an exceſs of humanity, was about to become an aſſaſſin, ſhe quickly cauſed Tſchoglokoff to be put into priſon, and afterwards baniſhed to the heart of Siberia.

Some time before the period of which we are treating, the deputies of the two ruſſian trading companies, one eſtabliſhed at Kamtſhatka, and the other at the mouth of the river Kovima, gave the court of Peterſburg an account of their diſcoveries. Thoſe of Kovima, ſetting out from that river, doubled the cape called Tſchutſki-noſs, in 74 deg. north lat. and falling down

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to the ſouth, through the ſtrait which ſeparates Europe from America, they diſcovered ſome inhabited iſlands in the 64th degree of latitude, where they went aſhore, and ſettled a trade with the inhabitants, for their fineſt furs, ſome of which they brought to the empreſs, particularly a parcel of the moſt beautiful black foxes ſkins that ever were ſeen. They named theſe iſlands the iſlands of Aleyut; ſome of them are very near the continent of America*. Thoſe of Kamtſhatka went to the northward, and met their companions at the above iſlands; ſo that, for the convenience of trade, they fixed a factory at the iſle of Beering. When this report was made, the court came to a reſolution of puſhing theſe diſcoveries; and lieutenant-colonel Blenmer was ſent, with ſeveral able geographers, with orders to ſail from the river Anadyr to the ſame coaſts, and even beyond them.

About the middle of the year 1767, the empreſs conceived the uſeful project of ſending ſeveral learned men to travel into the interior of her vaſt territories, to enable themſelves to determine the geographical poſition of the principal places, to mark their temperature, and to

* For a farther proſecution of ſome of theſe diſcoveries the reader is referred to "Varieties of Literature," vol. ii. p. 1. printed for Debrett, Piccadilly.

examine into the nature of their ſoil, their productions, their wealth, as well as the manners and characters of the ſeveral people by whom they are inhabited.

A country of ſuch a prodigious extent as the ruſſian empire, muſt naturally attract the notice of every man who wiſhes to increaſe his knowledge, whether it be conſidered in regard to the aſtoniſhing number of tribes and nations by which it is inhabited, the great diverſity of climates under which they live, or the almoſt infinite quantity of natural curioſities with which it abounds. But the greater part of this country is ſtill immerſed in the profoundeſt barbariſm, and almoſt inacceſſible to the inveſtigations of the ordinary traveller. Here vagrant hordes of people, who, entirely addicted to the paſtoral life, roam from place to place, ſhunning the ſocial manners of towns and villages, negligent of agriculture, and leaving uncultivated and almoſt in a deſert-ſtate vaſt tracts of land bleſſed with the moſt favourable ſoil and the moſt happy temperature of ſeaſons: there, peaſants, and even in many places inhabitants of towns, ſlaves to a thouſand prejudices, languiſhing in bondage to the moſt ſtupid ſuperſtitions; brought up, beſides, in the ſevereſt ſervitude, and, being accuſtomed to obey by no other means than

blows, are forced to ſubmit to the harſheſt treatment: none of thoſe affectionate admonitions, thoſe prudent and impelling motives, which uſually urge mankind to action, make any impreſſion on their degraded minds; they reluctantly labour the fields of a hard maſter, and ſtudiouſly conceal from his knowledge thoſe riches which ſome accident, ſo deſirable in other countries, ſhould have led them to diſcover; as they would only augment the number of their toils and the heavineſs of their yoke. Hence that careleſs contempt for the treaſures preſented them by nature, and the neglect of thoſe bounties ſhe laviſhes on them. Hence thoſe immenſe deſerts almoſt totally deſtitute of cultivation, and ſo many towns that are falling to decay.

Peter the great, of too penetrating a view not to perceive both the evil and its cauſes, took all imaginable pains, and adopted the wiſeſt meaſures to ameliorate the condition of an empire, ſo powerful from numberleſs other circumſtances, to free his ſubjects by gentle degrees from the ſhackles of barbariſm, to diffuſe on all ſides the benign light of arts and ſciences, to diſcover the treaſures concealed in his dominions, and to furniſh agriculture with the remedies and aſſiſtances adapted to its improvement. His travels into ſeveral countries of Europe for

the acquiſition of ſuch kinds of knowledge as were moſt applicable to the uſe of his dominions, are ſufficiently known; as well as that in 1717 he honoured the royal academy of ſciences at Paris with his preſence, and expreſſed his deſire the following year to be admitted a member; that he kept up a regular correſpondence with that illuſtrious body, and that he ſent to it, as the firſt eſſay of his ingenious and magnificent enterpriſes, an accurate chart of the Caſpian, which he cauſed to be ſcrupulouſly taken on the ſpot. At the ſame time he fitted out and diſpatched ſeveral men of letters to various parts of his empire; one of them to make the tour of Ruſſia, and two others to proceed to Kaſan and Aſtrakhan, to gain information of every thing of conſequence to be known in thoſe countries. In the year 1719, Daniel Amadeus Meſſerſchmidt, a phyſician of Dantzic, was ſent into Siberia, for the purpoſe of making inquiries into the natural hiſtory of that immenſe province, from which expedition he only returned at the beginning of 1727. This learned man did honour to the choice that had been made of him, by an indefatigable activity, and by the proofs he gave of his profound knowledge, not only in every department of natural hiſtory, but likewiſe in antiquities, as well

well as in aſtronomy, having carefully determined the elevation of the pole in all the places where he ſtopped.

As the northern regions, particularly thoſe of Siberia, were as yet but little known, and as it was very uncertain whether the extremity of theſe latter might not touch upon America, Peter I. ſent from Archangel two ſhips, with orders to proceed, by the white ſea and the northern ocean, into the frozen ocean, where they experienced the ſame diſaſters as had befallen the other veſſels that had gone before them in this attempt; for one of the two was caught by the fields of ice, and diſabled from proceeding any farther; and as no tidings were ever heard of the other, it, in all probability, periſhed.

Peter I. was not diſcouraged by the failure of this undertaking; but he was carried off by death as he was preparing a new expedition; he had given the charge of it to two daniſh captains, Beering and Spangberg, and a Ruſſian named Tſchirikoff, with orders to go to Kamtſhatka, from whence they were to ſail for exploring the northernmoſt coaſts of Siberia. The ſorrowful event of the emperor's death made no alteration in theſe diſpoſitions; and the plan was carried into execution, the ſame winter, by the empreſs

Catharine, who ſent a ſmall company of literati, provided with a paper of inſtructions, which Peter had framed with his own hand. They returned in 1730, after having penetrated very far towards the north.

The empreſs Anne was deſirous of proſecuting theſe important reſearches ſtill farther, and ordered the erection of a new company, in which Beering was to be employed as captain of the ſhip. Kamtſhatka was again the point of departure for making the principal diſcoveries, with orders to neglect nothing that might ſhed any light on the knowledge of the globe. One part of this ſociety was to navigate the northern ſeas, while the others were to repair by land to Kamtſhatka over Siberia. Theſe latter were to act conformably with the inſtructions of the imperial academy of Peterſburg, and to employ themſelves particularly in aſtronomical obſervations, geometrical operations, and deſcriptions relative to the political and natural hiſtory of the countries through which they were to paſs.

In 1760, M. l'abbé Chappe d'Auteroche was ſent into Ruſſia, by order and at the expence of the king of France, for obſerving at Tobolſk the tranſit of Venus over the ſun: his obſervations, publiſhed with great oſtentation, contain

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not near ſo much as was expected from that academician; and many of thoſe which he relates had been already long ſince known.

The empreſs Catharine II. determined to proſecute theſe uſeful inveſtigations, and accordingly gave orders to the academy of ſciences to make choice of a company of able and learned men to travel over different diſtricts of the empire with attention and obſervation. The ſelection of the learned travellers, the helps that were granted them, the excellent inſtructions and advice that were given them, will be a laſting honour to that academy. The very names of a Pallas, a Gmelin, and a Guldenſtædt, already promiſed much. M. Lepechin had likewiſe acquired a reputation by different papers inſerted in the academical collections; and the reſult of the labours of theſe enlightened men has been ſeen in the extenſive utility which they have ſince produced. Very few of the accounts that have been given by travellers contain ſo great a variety of new and important matters. The journals of theſe celebrated ſcholars even furniſh ſuch a great quantity of materials entirely new, for the hiſtory of the three kingdoms of nature, for the theory of the earth, for rural œconomy, in ſhort, for ſo many different objects relative to the arts and ſciences, that it would require, ac-

cording to the judicious remark of M. Bekmann of Gœttingen, whole years and the labour of ſeveral literary men only to put theſe materials in order, and properly to claſs them.

The diſcoveries made by the Ruſſians at ſea at various epochas, and particularly during the reign of Catharine II. have been faithfully laid before the public by Mr. Coxe in his well-known work profeſſedly written on that ſubject. It is impoſſible to conſider theſe expenſive and important miſſions without teſtifying our acknowledgment of the benefits that have accrued to ſcience from theſe learned and laborious inveſtigations.

The court of Catharine became now the aſylum of the ſciences, to which ſhe invited learned men from every part of Europe. Among the reſt the celebrated profeſſor Euler from Berlin, on whom her majeſty ſettled a large annual ſtipend, made him a preſent of a houſe, beſides ſhewing him many other marks of her imperial favour and protection. Well knowing, that it is not ſo much by the power of arms as by precedence in the ſciences and the arts that nations obtain a conſpicuous place in the annals of the world, Catharine with a laudable zeal encouraged artiſts and ſcholars of all denominations. She granted new privileges to the academy of ſciences, and exhorted its members

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to add the names of ſeveral celebrated foreigners to thoſe which already conferred a luſtre on their ſociety.

Nor was ſhe leſs attentive to the academy of arts, by increaſing the number of its pupils, and adding ſuch regulations as tended more than ever to the attainment of the end of its endowment. Scholars were now not to be taken in after the age of ſix years, that the defects of a bad education might not yet have had time to ſpoil their temper or corrupt their manners. Delivered for three years to the care of women, they are then put into the hands of tutors, and are devoted to the art to which they ſhew the moſt inclination. They may become painters, ſculptors, architects, watchmakers, engravers, or learn the art of caſting in metals, and of making mathematical and optical inſtruments. During the whole of the time they are in the academy they are not permitted to receive any thing from their parents. They are clothed, fed, and lodged at the public expence. At the end of fifteen years they leave the inſtitution; and, if their behaviour correſponds with the pains that have been beſtowed on their education, they are granted patents of nobility.

Independently of theſe advantages, ſuch of the pupils as have carried the higheſt prizes, receive

receive the before-mentioned penſion for travelling three years over Europe.

It is frequently obſerved, that though this inſtitution has now ſubſiſted upwards of half a century, yet it has produced no great artiſt; and that it has ſerved no other purpoſe than to furniſh Voltaire with a ſubject of pompous declamation, and to make annually a paragraph in the newſpapers of Germany, oſtentatiouſly deſcribing the ceremony of diſtributing the prizes in the preſence of the empreſs and the grand duke, with their pathetic ſpeeches on the occaſion; and that, anſwering that purpoſe, nothing farther was intended. Yet even admitting the love of fame to be the only motive at the time, the inſtitution may hereafter find motives of its own, ariſing from intereſt, or a deſire of excelling, as a civilized public ſhall increaſe, and the approbation of their performances no longer be conſidered as a matter of form and confined to the court.

Still farther to encourage the fine arts in her dominions, the empreſs aſſigned an annual ſum of 5000 rubles for the tranſlation of foreign literary works into the ruſſian language.

At this time the ſmall-pox was very riſe in St. Peterſburg, which occaſioned the empreſs and the grand duke her ſon to remain at Tzarſko-ſelo,

ſko-ſelo, inſtead of coming to town as uſual. The counteſs Scheremetoff was carried off by that diſtemper a few days before ſhe was to have been married to count Panin, for which event great preparations had been made. It was neither poſſible, nor was it material, to aſcertain how the infection penetrated the receſſes of the court; but perſons of rank and fortune were alarmed that neither one nor the other afforded any ſecurity againſt the ravages of this dreadful diſeaſe. The danger to which her majeſty and the grand duke were expoſed, together with her majeſty's zeal for the welfare of her ſubjects, gave riſe to a propoſal for introducing the practice of inoculation.

The firſt perſonages in the empire determined to ſet the example, by ſubmitting to the operation; and a reſolution was accordingly taken by the empreſs, to invite a phyſician from England, where inoculation had been moſt practiſed, and was generally allowed to have received ſome modern and very conſiderable improvements *.

Accordingly Dr. Thomas Dimſdale, about the beginning of July 1768, received a letter at

* See tracts on inoculation, written and publiſhed at St. Peterſburg in the year 1768, by command of the empreſs of Ruſſia, by the hon. baron T. Dimſdale, 1781.

Hertford

Hertford from M. Pouſchin, the ruſſian miniſter at the court of London, repreſenting that the empreſs, having a deſire to engage an able phyſician to go to St. Peterſburg, in order to introduce inoculation, he wiſhed to ſee him as ſoon as poſſible. At the interview that enſued, great encouragements were held out; but the doctor, from domeſtic conſiderations, at firſt ſhewed ſome heſitation; when a ſecond courier arriving, and ſome circumſtances rendering it apparent that the empreſs and grand duke were immediately intereſted in the application, he prepared for his journey with all expedition, and accordingly ſet out on the 28th of July.

Two days after his arrival, the doctor, in conſequence of a previous notice, waited on count Panin, who, after the uſual ſalutations, ſaid to him, "You are now called, ſir, to the moſt "important employment that perhaps any gen-"tleman was ever entruſted with. To your "ſkill and integrity will probably be ſubmitted "no leſs than the precious lives of two of the "greateſt perſonages in the world, with whoſe "ſafety the tranquillity and happineſs of this "great empire are ſo intimately connected, that "ſhould an accident deprive us of either, the "bleſſings we now enjoy might be turned to "the utmoſt ſtate of miſery and confuſion.

"May

" May God avert ſuch unſpeakable calamities!
" But the hazard of the infection of the ſmall-
" pox, in the natural way, is ſo threatening,
" that we are compelled to have recourſe to the
" expedient of inoculation; which, though ſo
" little known in this country, has been adopted
" and practiſed in England with the greateſt
" ſucceſs. We have phyſicians of great learn-
" ing and abilities in their profeſſion; but not
" being experienced in this new branch of
" practice, her imperial majeſty was pleaſed to
" lay her commands upon her miniſters, to
" inquire after and engage a perſon of the beſt
" abilities in it, and whoſe ſucceſs had been
" confirmed by long practice. You come to
" us well recommended in theſe eſſential points;
" I ſhall therefore repoſe the utmoſt confidence
" in you, and have only to requeſt that you
" will act without the leaſt reſerve.

" As to the reſolution of the empreſs in this
" particular, with regard to herſelf, I muſt
" leave to her majeſty to explain her own ſen-
" timents; but with reſpect to the grand duke,
" he is already determined on the operation,
" provided you encourage it: it has been ſub-
" mitted to his own conſideration; he approves,
" and even wiſhes it. I have therefore to
" requeſt, that before an affair of ſo great con-

" ſequence

" ſequence is finally ſettled, you would make " yourſelf well acquainted with his conſtitution " and ſtate of health.

" His imperial highneſs knows you are ar- " rived, expects to ſee you, and invites you to " wait on him to-morrow. I can venture to " aſſure you, that he will be eaſy of acceſs, " and willing to be acquainted with you. Be " with him as much as poſſible; ſee him at his " table, and at his amuſements; make your " obſervations, and, in ſhort, ſtudy his conſti- " tution. Let us not be too precipitate; but " when every circumſtance has been duly " attended to, report your opinion freely, and " depend on this, that if you ſhould deem the " operation hazardous, and adviſe againſt it, " we ſhall think ourſelves equally obliged to " you; nor will the acknowledgments on ac- " count of this expedition be inferior to what " it will be upon the utmoſt ſucceſs."

In anſwer to this, the doctor aſſured the count that he would in every reſpect attend to his intimations, and that he might depend on his making a juſt report.

The empreſs came to town that evening, and the next day, the two Dimſdales were preſented. On this occaſion there were only preſent with her majeſty, count Panin and baron Cherkaſſoff, preſident

preſident of the college of medicine, who having been educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, ſpoke very good Engliſh. Catharine ſhewed great perſpicacity in the queſtions ſhe put concerning the practice and ſucceſs of inoculation. On his retiring, Dr. Dimſdale was invited to dine with her majeſty the ſame day; and as the account of the manners obſerved at the empreſs's table will neither be foreign to our purpoſe, nor unentertaining to the reader, we ſhall give it in the doctor's own words:

"The empreſs ſat ſingly at the upper end of a long table, at which about twelve of the nobility were gueſts. The entertainment conſiſted of a variety of excellent diſhes, ſerved up after the french manner, and was concluded by a deſſert of the fineſt fruits and ſweetmeats, ſuch as I little expected to find in that northern climate. Moſt of theſe luxuries were, however, the produce of the empreſs's own dominions. Pine-apples indeed are chiefly imported from England, though thoſe of the growth of Ruſſia, of which we had one that day, are of good flavour, but generally ſmall. Water-melons and grapes are brought from Aſtrakhan; great plenty of melons from Moſco, and apples and pears from the Ukraine.

"But

"But what enlivened the whole entertainment was the moſt unaffected eaſe and affability of the empreſs herſelf. Each of her gueſts had a ſhare of her attention and politeneſs; the converſation was kept up with a freedom and cheerfulneſs to be expected rather from perſons of the ſame rank, than from ſubjects admitted to the honour of their ſovereign's company."

On the following day another converſation with the empreſs enſued, in which Dr. Dimſdale requeſted the aſſiſtance of the court phyſicians, to whom he deſired to communicate every propoſed regulation and medicine; but the empreſs would by no means conſent to any ſuch conſultation, and gave her reaſons as follows:

"You are come well recommended to me; "the converſation I have had with you on this "ſubject has been very ſatisfactory; and my "confidence in you is increaſed. I have not "the leaſt doubt of your abilities and knowledge "in this practice; it is impoſſible that my "phyſicians can have much ſkill in this opera-"tion; they want experience; their interpoſi-"tion may tend to embarraſs you, without the "leaſt probability of giving any uſeful aſſiſtance. "My life is my own; and I ſhall with the "utmoſt cheerfulneſs and confidence rely on

"your

" your care alone. With regard to my conſti-
" tution you could receive no information from
" them. I have had, I thank God, ſo good a
" ſhare of health, that their advice has never
" been required; and you ſhall, from myſelf,
" receive every information that can be neceſ-
" ſary. I have alſo to acquaint you, that it is
" my determination to be inoculated before the
" grand duke, and as ſoon as you judge it conve-
" nient. At the ſame time I deſire that this
" may remain a ſecret buſineſs; and I enjoin
" you to let it be ſuppoſed that, for the preſent,
" all thoughts of my own inoculation are laid
" aſide. The preparation of this great experi-
" ment on the grand duke will countenance
" your viſits to the palace; and I deſire to ſee
" you as often as it may ſeem neceſſary, that
" you may become ſtill better acquainted with
" what relates to my conſtitution, and alſo for
" adjuſting the time and other circumſtances of
" my own inoculation."

He promiſed obedience to her majeſty's commands; and only propoſed that ſome experiments might firſt be made by inoculating ſome of her own ſex and age, and as near as could be of ſimilar habit. The empreſs replied, " that
" if the practice had been novel, or the leaſt
" doubt of the general ſucceſs had remained,

" that precaution might be neceſſary; but, as " ſhe was well ſatisfied in both particulars, there " would be no occaſion for delay on any " account."

The empreſs, on being inoculated privately, went * the next morning to Tzarſko-ſelo; a palace about four-and-twenty verſts from Peterſburg. At firſt no other perſons were there but the neceſſary attendants, it being given out that her majeſty's journey was only to give directions about ſome alterations, and that her ſtay would be ſhort. But ſeveral of the nobility ſoon followed, and the empreſs obſerving among them ſome whom ſhe ſuſpected not to have had the ſmall-pox, ſaid to Dr. Dimſdale: " I muſt " rely on you to give me notice when it is " poſſible for me to communicate the diſeaſe: " for, though I could wiſh to keep my inocula- " tion a ſecret, yet far be it from me to conceal " it a moment, when it may become hazardous " to others." The empreſs, during this interval, took part in every amuſement with her uſual affability, without ſhewing the leaſt token of uneaſineſs or concern; conſtantly dined at the ſame table with the nobility, and enlivened the whole court with thoſe peculiar graces of

* On the 12th of October.

converſation,

converſation, for which ſhe was ever diſtinguiſhed *.

The grand duke ſhortly after † ſubmitted to the operation; and, on his recovery, Catharine rewarded the ſervices of Dr. Dimſdale by creating him a baron of the ruſſian empire, and appointing him actual counſellor of ſtate, and phyſician to her imperial majeſty, with a penſion of 500l. a-year, to be paid him in England; beſides 10,000l. ſterling which he immediately received; and alſo preſented him with a miniature picture of herſelf, and another of the grand duke, as a memorial of his ſervices. Her majeſty was

* Shortly after being inoculated Catharine wrote to Voltaire:—"I have not kept my bed a ſingle inſtant, and I "have received company every day. I am about to have "my only ſon inoculated. The grand maſter of artillery, "count Orloff, that hero who reſembles the antient "Romans in the beſt times of the republic (1), both in "courage and in generoſity, doubting whether he had ever "had the ſmall-pox, has put himſelf under the hands of our "Engliſhman; and the next day after the operation, went "to the hunt, in a very deep fall of ſnow. A great num-"ber of courtiers have followed his example, and many "others are preparing to do ſo. Beſides this, inoculation "is now carried on at Peterſburg, in three ſeminaries of "education, and in an hoſpital, eſtabliſhed under the inſpec-"tion of M. Dimſdale."

† On the 1ſt of November.

(1) Romans!—the Orloffs!

likewiſe pleaſed to expreſs her approbation of the conduct of his ſon, by conferring on him the ſame title, and ordering him to be preſented with a ſuperb gold ſnuff-box, richly ſet with diamonds.

The examples of theſe illuſtrious perſonages had ſuch immediate influence, that moſt of the nobility both at St. Peterſburg and Moſco were impatient to have their families inoculated. This buſineſs being happily accompliſhed, baron Dimſdale was preparing to return to England, and indeed was juſt ſetting out, when a nobleman came to inform him that the empreſs was deſirous of ſeeing him. The baron was much concerned to find her with every ſymptom of a pleuretic fever, and therefore at her deſire again took up his reſidence in the palace. The ſymptoms increaſed; but, upon being bled, her majeſty received immediate relief, and in a ſhort time the moſt alarming ſymptoms abated. So ſoon as the empreſs was recovered, which was in about three weeks, the baron again prepared for his journey to England. Having taken his leave, and received farther proofs of the munificence of her imperial majeſty, the baron was attended to Riga by an officer commiſſioned to ſee that every neceſſary accommodation ſhould be

be provided, in the ſame manner as at his firſt arrival in the country *.

On the 3d of December 1768, a thankſgiving ſervice was performed in the chapel of the palace, on account of her majeſty's recovery and that of the grand duke, from the ſmall-pox. The ceremony was very ſolemn and magnificent. On each ſide of the imperial chapel, which is a lofty and ſpacious room in the winter palace, is a row of gilt ionic columns. The walls are covered with taudry and ill-executed pictures of ruſſian ſaints. On the roof, over the catapetaſma and holy doors, is a repreſentation of the ſupreme being, in the figure of an old man in white raiment. Within a railing extending acroſs the room, and contiguous to the pillar neareſt to the holy doors, on the ſouth ſide ſtood the empreſs and her ſon, for, by the greek ritual, no perſon is allowed to ſit in church; accordingly there are no ſeats, not even for the ſovereign, who ſtands all the while under a canopy, when not making the uſual proſtrations. In the ſame area, and on both ſides of the ſanctuary, were

* Before baron Dimſdale took his departure from St. Peterſburg, the empreſs purchaſed the houſe that had been built by baron Wolff, formerly britiſh conſul in that city, for the purpoſe of converting it into an inoculation hoſpital, which ſhe accordingly did, and the inſtitution is ſtill ſupported.

choriſters gaudily apparelled. All the reſt of the congregation ſtood on the outſide of the baluſtrade.

The ceremony opened with ſolemn vocal muſic, no other being admiſſible in the greek church; to this ſucceeded the prayers and ejaculations, which conſtituted the firſt part of the office. Preſently the folding doors of the holieſt were opened from within, and diſplayed to view the penetralia of the temple. Directly oppoſite appeared a large picture of the deſcent from the croſs; on each ſide a gilt colonnade of the ionic order: in the middle an altar covered with golden tiſſue; and on the altar a crucifix, a three-armed candleſtick, with lighted tapers, emblem of the trinity, and chalices, flagons, patens, and other holy veſſels. A number of venerable prieſts with hoary heads and flowing beards, mitres ſtudded with precious ſtones of every colour, and coſtly robes of ſilk and damaſk, ſtood in ſolemn attitudes, among the columns of this gorgeous ſanctuary.

From the adytum, or inmoſt receſs, with ſlow and ſolemn ſteps, advanced a prieſt, bearing in his hand a two-branched candleſtick with lighted tapers, emblematic of the hypoſtatic union of the two natures of the ſon of God. He was followed in like manner by another, reciting prayers

prayers as he moved along, and ſwinging a cenſer ſmoking with fragrant odours. Advancing towards her majeſty, he waved the cenſer thrice before her, during which ſhe ſeveral times gracefully bowed, and as often made the ſign of the croſs upon her breaſt. A third prieſt ſucceeded him bearing on his arms the volume of the goſpel; out of which having read ſome paſſages adapted to the occaſion, he preſented it to the empreſs, who kiſſed it with great devotion.

The prieſts then retired: the folding doors of the ſanctuary were cloſed: the choriſters ſung an anthem, and were anſwered by muſical voices from within. The intonations were deep and ſublime. In a few minutes the folding doors again flew open; the ceremonies of the tapers and incenſe were repeated, Two prieſts advanced, bearing the ſacred ſymbols, the bread and wine of the holy euchariſt, veiled with cloth of gold. Having adminiſtered this *, they retired. The doors were cloſed, and the choral harmony reſumed.

The doors were opened, and the ſame ceremonies a third time repeated. After this the metropolitan aſcended the pulpit againſt a column oppoſite to the empreſs, and delivered a diſ-

* In the greek church the bread and wine are mixed up together, and adminiſtered with a ſpoon.

courſe; in which he celebrated her reſolution and magnanimity; and in the courſe of his ſermon remarked, "that the Ruſſians had bor-"rowed aſſiſtance from Britain, that iſland "famed for wiſdom, bravery, and virtue." The ſermon ended, ſeveral prieſts came from the receſs, and concluded the ſervice with prayers and benedictions.

The ſenate decreed that the event of the recovery after inoculation of the ſovereign and his imperial highneſs ſhould be ſolemnized by an anniverſary feſtival, which has been regularly obſerved ever ſince.

CHAP VI.

The ottoman porte declares war againſt Ruſſia.—Prince Henry of Pruſſia at Peterſburg.—A ruſſian ſquadron, under the command of count Alexius Orloff, ſails to the Archipelago.—Victories of count Romantzoff.—Capture of Bender.—Count Alexius Orloff returns to Peterſburg.—His conduct in Italy.—Prince Dolgorouky enters the Krimea.—Peſtilence at Moſco.—Attempt to aſſaſſinate the king of Poland.—Congreſs at Fokſhiani.—Vaſſilſchikoff becomes favourite of the empreſs.—Gregory Orloff is diſmiſſed from court; with other events from 1768 *to* 1772.

ON the firſt menaces held out by Turkey, Catharine, who felt herſelf not yet in a condition to make war with advantage, ſuſpended the ſettlement of the limits between Ruſſia and Poland, without, however, abandoning the hope of ſeizing on a part of that kingdom, where her officers were continually haraſſing and dividing the inhabitants. The flattering and ſanguine expectations which had been formed on the concluſions of the late diet, and the intervention of the Ruſſians in the affairs of the republic, were

were totally overthrown almoſt as ſoon as they were conceived; and that unfortunate country became the theatre of the moſt cruel and complicated of all wars; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. Indeed the meaſures relative to the diet, as well as thoſe which had for ſome time paſt directed all the tranſactions in that country, ſeemed pregnant with ſuch ſeeds of diſcontent, as might well be expected to produce, ſooner or later, ſome very extraordinary conſequences. We have ſeen a foreign army, under colour of friendſhip, take poſſeſſion of a country to which no juſt claim was even pretended; we have ſeen them, for a courſe of years, preremptorily dictate to the members of a once great and free nation the meaſures they ſhould purſue, and the laws they ſhould eſtabliſh for their own internal government; and we have ſeen them ſeize the ſenators of that nation, and ſend them priſoners to a foreign country, for daring to have an opinion in their own national councils. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Poles, a brave and haughty nation, long nurſed in independence, and whoſe nobles had exerciſed in their reſpective diſtricts an almoſt unlimited ſovereignty, ſhould ill brook a ſubmiſſion to ſuch unnatural acts of foreign power.

The

The conſequences were accordingly fatal. The reſentment excited by patriotiſm from a ſenſe of national injury and diſhonour, being embittered and enflamed by the ſpirit of cruelty and animoſity, which is almoſt always inſeparable from religious diſputes, that unhappy country exhibited, in the courſe of the year 1768, the ſcenes of horror, calamity, and deſolation, which are the common concomitants of civil war. Citizen deſtroying citizen; foreigners drenching the vaſt plains of a great country in the beſt blood of its inhabitants, and the fields covered with the unburied bodies of thoſe who uſed to till them, are but a part of the horrors of this dreadful picture. Some that were moſt impatient of the ruſſian yoke at ſeveral times attacked their armies. Encouraged by Auſtria, and particularly by France, they made themſelves maſters of the city of Cracow, of a part of Podolia, and united in the fortreſs of Bar, the name whereof was then given to that confederation, which became ſo famous by its enormities and its misfortunes. The empreſs cauſed reinforcements of the troops to enter Poland, giving the command of them to lieutenant-general Soltikoff. The affrighted confederates made a ſecond application to the Turks. The count

de

de Vergennes, being informed of this ſtep, renewed his remonſtrances to the divan, to determine it to ſuccour the Poles, and to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Catharine: in which he ſucceeded. The ambaſſador of that princeſs was ſhut up in the priſon of ſeven towers, and the reis effendi delivered to the foreign miniſters a manifeſto*, by which the grand ſignior declared war againſt Ruſſia, accuſing it of having infringed the treaties, and violated the territory, of the ottoman empire. The Turks, at the ſame time, announced that they were about to open the campaign with an army of 500,000 men.

It does not appear that the court of Ruſſia was at all deſirous of entering into this war, if peace could have been poſſibly preſerved, without giving up its favourite ſyſtem in Poland; and the occaſional diſorders committed by its troops on the ottoman frontiers do not ſeem to have proceeded from any fixed deſign of giving umbrage to that court; at leaſt till matters were carried to ſuch lengths, that there were no longer any hopes of preſerving harmony. There is no doubt, however, but this court

* This manifeſto was incloſed in a purſe. See the appendix to this volume.

foreſaw

foreſaw that war would be the probable conſequence of its conduct in that country; an event, which the repeated remonſtrances of the porte, and the anxiety it ſhewed at the purſuit of thoſe meaſures, ſufficiently indicated. It was accordingly well prepared for this event; its armies were in good condition, its ſtores and magazines well provided, and the diſpoſition of its troops ſuch, that they might be readily aſſembled in bodies upon the frontiers.

The empreſs dreaded now neither the threats nor the undiſciplined multitudes of the ottoman forces. On the contrary, ſhe ſhewed great dignity and firmneſs. Upon the occaſion of the arreſt of her miniſter* at Conſtantinople, ſhe loudly juſtified his conduct, and applauded his ſpirit in not making any humiliating conceſſions, or ſubmitting to conditions that were derogatory to the honour and glory of the empire.

The conduct of the grand ſignior, in regard to the tranſactions in Poland, was blameleſs and irreproachable, and entirely conſiſtent with the character of a good neighbour and faithful ally. The affairs of that country had, for ſome years paſt, greatly attracted the attention of the porte; nor could it indeed have been an indif-

* The 12th of October 1768.

ferent

ferent ſpectator of the meaſures there lately purſued. The great and growing power of the ruſſian empire, and the ſupreme aſcendant it had acquired in all the tranſactions of the north, were in themſelves ſufficient objects of jealouſy to ſo near a neighbour. But the almoſt abſolute dominion which it had lately acquired, and the unlimited authority it exerciſed, in ſo conſiderable and extenſive a country, and poſſeſſed of ſuch great natural power, as Poland, was an object of ſuch moment, as the ſultan could not poſſibly have overlooked, without giving up every pretenſion to true policy, and even to common prudence.

In fact, while its kings were elected, its laws paſſed, and its ſtates governed under the influence of a ruſſian army, Poland could be conſidered in no other light than as a province to that empire; and the ſplendid titles of kingdom and republic were only a mockery and cruel inſult on its degradation. The Poles might have urged, and the Turks might have been convinced, that the pretences of fulfilling treaties, protecting the diſſidents, and guarding the freedom of election, was an uſeful ſort of official language, which made a very good figure on paper, and had a plauſible effect in manifeſtos,

to the vulgar, or to thoſe who were but little concerned. But theſe gloſſes could bear no political teſt of examination; as reaſons of the ſame or a ſimilar nature might be everlaſtingly found for the keeping of an army in any country, under pretence of friendſhip or protection, and at the ſame time converting it to all the purpoſes of a conquered province. In truth, the ſame reaſons would have held, for ſending a ruſſian army to Conſtantinople, to protect the divan, to prevent riots among the janiſſaries, and to reſtore the chriſtians in that empire to their ancient rights and privileges.

Catharine, however, had loſt no time in preparing for her defence; and her preparations were formidable. Accordingly, ſhe cauſed a manifeſto to be delivered to all the miniſters of the powers neutral or allied, and publiſhed a declaration of war, with the uſual forms, in the public places of Peterſburg.

1769. The ruſſian armies began to march, and ſoon extended from the banks of the Danube to thoſe of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Krimea, who had embraced the party of the Turks, were the firſt againſt whom the armies of Catharine diſplayed their proweſs. General Izaakoff drove 12,000 of them out of New Servia, which they had entered under the command

command of their khan*. Maſters of Azoff and Taganrog, the Ruſſians put theſe two places into a condition of reſiſting their ancient poſſeſſors, and laboured with unremitted induſtry, in augmenting the little ſquadrons, which have ſince given them the dominion of the Euxine.

The koſaks of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the principal body of the ruſſian army, paſſed the Dnieſter, and attacked 30,000 Turks even under the ramparts of Khotyim; but he was repulſed; and the conquerors purſued him to the other ſide of the river.

That general then publiſhed a manifeſto, inviting all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take arms againſt that confederation. Soltikoff had already ſolemnly announced to his army, that ſuch officers or ſoldiers as ſhould take a confederate, and grant him his life, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed.

Such is the faint view which our limits allow us to take of the ſituation of affairs in that unhappy country. A nearer inſpection would repreſent a picture more diſgraceful to human nature; ſullied with the moſt dreadful exorbitances, and ſtained with the moſt horrid cruelties.

* In the month of March 1769.

Theſe

Theſe charges are reciprocally made; and it is to be feared with too much truth on both ſides. One inſtance however deſerves to be particularly marked, in hopes it may ſtand a perpetual record of the infamy of the perpetrator.

Nine poliſh gentlemen, whoſe arms had been cut off at the wriſts, preſented in the capital city of their native country, this new and ſhocking ſpectacle: a ſpectacle that would diſgrace a nation of ſavages, and that, even amongſt them, would excite every latent ſeed of pity, indignation, and horror, into action. The ruſſian general Drevitch was the deteſted author of this inhuman and execrable act; and ſome accounts make him the immediate operator in it. The barbarian had acted in the double capacity of their judge and their executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warſaw prince Repnin, whoſe arrogance was diſguſting to all the Poles, without even excepting the warmeſt partiſans of Ruſſia. That ambaſſador was ſucceeded by prince Volkonſky, who exerted himſelf in vain to effect the re-confederation already propoſed in the manifeſto of prince Gallitzin. The empreſs clearly ſaw how dangerous it would

be for her, if all the Poles ſhould unite againſt the Ruſſians. But the efforts of her generals and the intrigues of her miniſters were now of leſs ſervice to her than the weakneſs and inattention of the court of Verſailles. If that court had been ſo inclined, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the porte powerfully defended, and Poland ſtill have been in the number of the powers of Europe*.

Long before the plan for the partition of Poland was put into execution, the empreſs and the king of Pruſſia equally felt the neceſſity of conferring on that grand deſign. But, thinking that an interview between them would not fail of giving umbrage to the other potentates, and that they might perhaps find means for diſcovering the motives of it, they thought it moſt adviſable to decline it altogether. Frederic, then giving his inſtructions to prince Henry, his

* In order to raiſe all Poland in one confederacy, the very eloquent and very able general Mokronoſky requeſted of the duke de Choiſeul no more than 2,000,000 tournois, as a ſubſidy, the acknowledgment of count Vilheorſky as miniſter of the confederation of Bar, and the miſſion of an agent to it, commiſſioned to ſee that the ſubſidies were well applied. The duke de Choiſeul approved of the plan; but was diſſuaded from it by the court of Vienna, who had doubtleſs already formed ſecret views, as the partition of Poland afterwards made it appear.

brother,

brother, charged him with a commiſſion to go to Ruſſia. The better to conceal the object of his journey, prince Henry gave out, that he intended only to make a viſit to his ſiſter the queen of Sweden. While he was at Stockholm, he mentioned that he ſhould return to Pruſſia by the way of Denmark. But all at once he ſeemed to change his reſolution, and yield, from complaiſance to Catharine, who, hearing that he was ſo near her dominions, gave him preſſing invitations to come and ſee her at Peterſburg. Thus, though prince Henry had quitted Berlin in no other deſign than to proceed to Ruſſia, he found means to make it believed, that he was now going upon an unpremeditated journey.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm in a galley*, that conveyed him as far as Abo, the capital of Finland. From thence he repaired to Peterſburg. A chamberlain of the empreſs was diſpatched to meet him on the frontiers of Ruſſia. General Bibikoff received him at the laſt ſtation, before the entrance of Peterſburg, and conducted him to the palace that had been

* The prince royal of Sweden, who reigned afterwards under the name of Guſtavus III. and prince Frederic his brother, paſſed the firſt day in the galley with prince Henry. The duke of Sudermania was at that time in France.

prepared for his reception, and where the miniſter Panin was waiting for him. The prince entered Peterſburg under a diſcharge of cannon, and every where received the ſame honours that are paid to ſovereigns.

1770. The next day he preſented himſelf at court with a numerous ſuite, and dined in public with the empreſs. All that paſſed this day was conducted with the moſt rigorous attention to ceremony; but afterwards all etiquette was baniſhed; and the empreſs and the prince might ſee and diſcourſe with each other without the ſmalleſt reſtraint.

Every day was marked with ſome feſtivity or ſome new entertainment*. It would be ſuperfluous

* One of theſe is deſcribed in a letter from Mr. Richardſon, then at Peterſburg: "I ſaw him [prince Henry] a few nights ago at a maſquerade in the palace, ſaid to be the moſt magnificent thing of the kind ever ſeen at the ruſſian court. Fourteen large rooms and galleries were opened for the accommodation of the maſks; and I was informed that there were preſent ſeveral thouſand people. A great part of the company wore dominos, or capuchin dreſſes; though, beſides theſe, ſome fanciful appearances afforded a good deal of amuſement. A very tall koſac appeared completely arrayed in the "hauberk's twiſted mail." He was indeed very grim and martial. Perſons in emblematical dreſſes, repreſenting Apollo and the Seaſons, addreſſed the empreſs in ſpeeches ſuited to their characters. The empreſs herſelf, at the time I ſaw her majeſty, wore a grecian habit; though I was

fluous to enter into the particulars of any, except the feſtival that was given at Tzarſko-ſelo; the

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I was afterwards told, that ſhe varied her dreſs two or three times during the maſquerade. Prince Henry of Pruſſia wore a white domino. Several perſons appeared in the dreſſes of Chineſe, Turks, Perſians, and Armenians. The moſt humorous and fantaſtical figure was a Frenchman, who, with wonderful nimbleneſs and dexterity, repreſented an overgrown, but very beautiful parrot. He chattered with a great deal of ſpirit; and his ſhoulders, covered with green feathers, performed admirably the part of wings. He drew the attention of the empreſs: a ring was formed; he was quite happy; fluttered his plumage; made fine ſpeeches in ruſs, french, and tolerable engliſh: the ladies were exceedingly diverted; every body laughed but prince Henry, who ſtood beſide the empreſs, and was ſo grave and ſo ſolemn, that he would have performed his part moſt admirably in the ſhape of an owl. The parrot obſerved him; was determined to have revenge; and, having ſaid as many good things as he could to her majeſty, he was hopping away: but juſt as he was going out of the circle, ſeeming to recollect himſelf, he ſtopped, looked over his ſhoulder at the formal prince, and quite in the parrot tone and french accent, he addreſſed him moſt emphatically with Henri! Henri! Henri! and then, diving into the crowd, diſappeared. His royal highneſs was diſconcerted; he was forced to ſmile in his own defence, and the company were not a little amuſed. —At midnight a ſpacious hall of a circular form, capable of containing a vaſt number of people, and illuminated in the moſt magnificent manner, was ſuddenly opened. Twelve tables were placed in alcoves around the ſides of the room,

the magnificence of which is deſerving to be remembered.

Tzarſko-

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where the empreſs, prince Henry, and 150 of the chief nobility and foreign miniſters, ſat down to ſupper. The reſt of the company went up by ſtairs on the outſide of the room, into the lofty galleries all round the inſide. Such a row of maſked viſages, many of them with groteſque features, and buſhy beards, nodding from the ſide of the wall, appeared very ludicrous to thoſe below. The entertainment was enlivened by a concert of muſic; and at different intervals perſons in various habits entered the hall, and exhibited koſac, chineſe, poliſh, ſwediſh, and tartar dances. The whole was ſo gorgeous, and at the ſame time ſo fantaſtic, that I could not help thinking myſelf preſent at ſome of the magnificent feſtivals deſcribed in the old-faſhioned romances:

——the marſhal'd feaſt
Served up in hall with ſewers and ſeneſchals.

The reſt of the company, on returning to the rooms adjoining, found prepared for them alſo a ſumptuous banquet. The maſquerade began at ſix in the evening, and continued till five next morning.—Beſides the maſquerade and other feſtivities, in honour and for the diverſion of prince Henry, we had lately a moſt magnificent ſhow of fire-works. They were exhibited in a wide ſpace before the winter palace; and in truth, "beggared deſcription." They diſplayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Vallachia, Beſſarabia, and the various conqueſts and victories atchieved ſince the commencement of the preſent war. The various colours, the bright green, and the ſnowy white, exhibited in theſe fire-works, were truly aſtoniſhing. For the

ſpace

Tzarſko-ſelo, or the ſeat of the tzars, the fixed ſummer-reſidence of Catharine II. lies in an open, pleaſant country, diverſified by gentle elevations and ſpots of foreſt, at the diſtance of 24 verſts from Peterſburg. The ſpace of the whole grounds belonging to the palace compriſes 420,000 ſquare fathoms. This princely ſeat owes its origin to Catharine I. and its extenſion and embelliſhment to the empreſs Elizabeth; but for its elegant completion and the greater part of its preſent magnificence, it is indebted to the creative reign of Catharine II.

The columns that mark the verſts on the road from town to Tzarſko-ſelo, are, like thoſe on the Peterhoff road, of marble, jaſper, and granite. On the two ſides of the way are 1100 globular lamps, which on public occaſions, when

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ſpace of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and moſt verdant foliage, ſeemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire; and during the whole of this ſtupendous ſcene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire-balls in one direction, formed as it were a ſuitable canopy. On this occaſion a prodigious multitude of people was aſſembled; and the empreſs, it was ſurmiſed, ſeemed uneaſy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, leſt any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the dauphin, ſhould befal her beloved people." Anecdotes of the ruſſian empire, p. 327.

the court is at Tzarſko-ſelo, are lighted. Along the road the traveller is delighted with the view of private gardens and country-houſes, though neither in number nor elegance and diverſity to be compared with thoſe on the road to Peterhoff. Between the ſixth and ſeventh verſt-ſtones are ſeen the walls of the palace of Tſcheſme, riſing from a ſwampy plain overgrown with buſhes. This palace, which is in the form of a triangle, is built entirely in the gothic taſte, with old gothic ornaments, lofty windows, painted glaſs, little turrets. The inſide is remarkable for a very good collection of portraits of all the princes of Europe, that were reigning about the year 1775, and their families, the greater part whereof were preſents from the ſeveral princes themſelves. The grounds about it are laid out in the engliſh ſtyle.

Five or ſix verſts farther on is a village of german coloniſts; after which there is no other object of conſequence, till, at the extremity of a thick foreſt, Tzarſko-ſelo, the grandeſt of all the imperial palaces, appears. On the left hand is the wall of the park, and oppoſite two lofty portals, practiſed through a ſteep and rugged artificial rock, on the top of the higheſt whereof is a chineſe temple. On paſſing through this entrance, on the right hand is a canal and beyond

it

it the palace, and on the left is a chineſe village, through which the road lies over a chineſe bridge into the park. The road extends to the neighbouring town of Sophia, through a coloſſal gate of caſt iron. The palace itſelf forms an amphitheatre, with the building oppoſite to the principal front. On the eaſt ſide of the garden are two rows of large houſes for the people belonging to the palace, and for the entertainment of travellers.

The outſide of the palace is grand from its magnitude, and dazzling by its gilded ornaments. It conſiſts of three ſtories, and has a wing on either ſide, one of which is the chapel, and the other the imperial baths. The central part was inhabited by her majeſty. Here a marble ſtaircaſe leads up to the ſecond ſtory, in which are the ſtate apartments to the ſide of the court-yard, and the proper dwelling-rooms look to the gardens. The generality of the former are fitted up and furniſhed in the richeſt and coſtlieſt manner in materials of every kind, and in ſuch elegant magnificence, that travellers, after viſiting other countries, unanimouſly declare, they know nothing of the kind with which it can be compared. A deſcription of theſe, with the gardens, will certainly not be expected here; as it would require a peculiar work of ſeveral volumes

volumes for that purpoſe. Only this cannot be overlooked, that Catharine, amidſt the creations of her capacious mind, had here devoted a little temple of ſimple architecture to ſolitary retirement and calm reflection, in which, ſurrounded by books and the beautiful ſcenery of nature, ſhe ſometimes forgot her immenſe ſphere of action, to indulge in the quiet enjoyments of meditation.

From the ſouth wing of the palace projects an arcade, fifty fathoms in length, over which is a covered colonnade of marble columns.—The gardens are laid out in the engliſh manner, and are unuſually ſpacious. Among the remarkable works in theſe gardens that are ſuſceptible of deſcription are principally the following objects: a ſmall temple, containing the choiceſt collection of antique and modern ſtatues; a ſolitude for a rural repaſt; together with a hermitage; a ſuperb bath, which may vie with any thing that ancient Rome could produce; pictureſque ruins; a little town, with its ſtreets and ſquares, &c. in memory of the taking poſſeſſion of Tavrida, with many others. Two artificial lakes, connected by a rivulet, acroſs which is a marble bridge, copied from that in Stowe-gardens. On an iſland in one of theſe lakes is a turkiſh moſque, on the other a ſpacious hall for muſical enter-

entertainments. In a wood appears a pyramid of granite in the ægyptian form, in the neighbourhood of which are two lofty columns.

Tzarſko-ſelo, the magnificent ſanctuary of nature and art, pretends alſo to be the grandeſt temple of merit. Formed of the radical mountains of our earth, monuments of great atchievements here tower aloft, fearleſs of the deſtructive revolutions of time. A marble obeliſk records the victory near Kagul, and the conqueror Romantzoff-Sadunaiſkoï. To the day of Tſcheſmè and the hero Orloff-Tſcheſmenſkoï a marble pillar on a pedeſtal of granite is dedicated. A ſuperb triumphal arch proclaims the patriotic courage of prince Orloff, with which he oppoſed himſelf to the inſurrection and the peſtilence that raged in the capital, and overcame them both. A roſtral column perpetuates the conqueſt of the Morea and the name Feodor Orloff. The reſt of the gardens are filled with objects that keep the admiration of the beholder on its utmoſt ſtretch.

It was at this grand ſeat of magnificence and taſte, that Catharine gave the famous entertainment to prince Henry of Pruſſia. At the coming on of the night, the empreſs, the grand duke, prince Henry, and ſeveral perſons of the court, to the number of 16, ſeated themſelves in an immenſe

immenſe ſledge drawn by 16 horſes, covered and incloſed by double glaſſes, which reflected the numberleſs images of the objects both within and without. The ſledge, followed by upwards of 2000 others, ſet out from Peterſburg: every perſon of the whole company being maſked, and dreſſed either in a fancy-habit or a domino.

At the diſtance of two verſts from town, the train of ſledges paſſed under an immenſe triumphal arch, illuminated with lamps of various colours, and adorned with tranſparent emblems. At every ſucceeding verſt was ſome grand ſtructure, a pyramid of lamps, a magnificent temple, illuminated colonnades, or fireworks in full diſplay; and oppoſite to theſe at every verſt on the other ſide of the road was a houſe of public entertainment erected for the purpoſe, where ruſtics of both ſexes, ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes, were dancing and amuſing themſelves in various ways as at a country wake: every public-houſe of this ſort repreſenting ſome different nation, all the people being habited in the dreſs of the country the inhabitants of which they perſonated; the muſic and the dances likewiſe in ſtrict conformity with the habits. At other intervals, vaulting, tumbling, interludes, &c. were performing.

At about two verſts from the palace of Tzarſko-ſelo a high mountain roſe to view, ſeen through an avenue cut in the wood, repreſenting mount Veſuvius during an eruption, darting torrents of flames, and illuminating the atmoſphere to a great diſtance. This artificial eruption continued during all the time the ſledges paſſed in ſight of the mountain, till they entered the lofty portal through the rock into the chineſe village, and through it to the palace.

The inſide of the palace of Tzarſko-ſelo was lighted by an infinite number of wax-lights. In various apartments the company danced two hours. All at once a grand diſcharge of cannon was heard, on which the ball ceaſed, the candles were extinguiſhed, and all the people ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the ſight of magnificent fireworks the whole length of the palace. This having laſted for ſome time, a thundering diſcharge of artillery was heard again; when all the candles were alight once more as if by enchantment, and a ſplendid ſupper was already ſerved up. After riſing from table, the dances continued till a late hour in the morning.

Catharine, during the whole of her reign, gave frequent entertainments to the public, which though inferior to this, were yet conducted with a magni-

a magnificence not to be exceeded in any court of Europe.

Prince Henry, during his ſtay at Peterſburg, paſſed all his evenings in company with the empreſs, in the favourite ſuite of apartments which that princeſs called her hermitage.

We ought not perhaps any longer to delay giving ſome account of this ſumptuous edifice, for ſo it ſhould be ſtyled rather than a ſuite of apartments, which, under the modeſt appellation of an hermitage, contains every thing that the moſt exquiſite luxury could combine. It occupies a ſpacious building contiguous to the imperial palace, with which it communicates by a covered paſſage over an arch. This ſtructure, which Catharine devoted to ſocial recreation and the pleaſures of familiar converſe, is perhaps the only one of its kind that has ever been built by queens and empreſſes for this purpoſe. It had every property that could render it delightful to the elect circle of her intimates. The treaſures of art and induſtry with which it abounds are not here to be deſcribed; but a ſhort account of ſome of the remarkable particulars of this palace it would be unpardonable to omit. Here is the private library of the empreſs; the picture-gallery, in which the famous Houghton-collection makes but a ſmall figure; Raphael's

gallery,

gallery, built preciſely to the dimenſions of that of the Vatican, with excellent copies of all the paintings, corner-pieces, and other ornaments of exactly the ſame ſize and in the ſame ſituations; a cabinet of medals, and another of coins; a collection of copper-plate engravings; a collection of natural hiſtory, particularly mineralogy; a collection of curious pieces of art; a collection of models of mechanical inventions; a cabinet of antique and modern gems; not to mention the extraordinary works of art which compoſe the furniture of theſe apartments *. Here and there are placed the buſts of great men. It is in one of theſe rooms that the elegant buſt of Mr. Charles James Fox ſtands in the middle of a marble chimney-piece between two others. Some chambers are deſtined to muſical entertainments, another to billiards, and others to various games. One of them opens into a pleaſure-garden upon arches, with furnaces beneath them in winter to keep up a gentle heat; ſo that in the moſt rigorous ſeaſons, here are gathered the peach and the ananas, the hyacinth and the roſe. The whole of this garden is covered with a fine braſs wire, that the beautiful and rare birds

* A great part of the paintings in the hermitage are from the famous cabinet of Crozat, which the empreſs cauſed to be bought at Paris.

from

from all countries that fly among the trees and buſhes, or hop about the graſs-plots and gravel-walks, and which the empreſs uſed frequently to feed from her hand, may not eſcape. Here, in the midſt of winter, Catharine, with thoſe whom ſhe admitted to her converſation, would walk on lawns and gravel, beneath the branches of verdant trees, and amidſt fruits and flowers of every kind.

Above this is a terrace, where is a ſecond garden, in the aſiatic taſte; but this can only be enjoyed during the ſummer ſeaſon. A covered gallery leads from this enchanted palace into the court-theatre, at the performances of which, likewiſe, only a ſelect company ever appeared.

The other apartments of the hermitage are two large halls ornamented with great elegance, and a dining-room, in which dinner is ſerved by a mechanical apparatus, rendering the attendance of ſervants entirely unneceſſary, by preſenting the diſhes on ſmall tables which riſe through trap-doors. The company take their ſeats; and each of them, on wiſhing to change his plate, has only to ſtrike it in the centre, and it falls through the table, and through the floor, ſtarting up again and ſettling in its place, having upon it whatever was written

written on the ſcrap of paper that deſcended with it. At a certain ſignal all the plates and diſhes deſcend, and others with the ſecond courſe preſently appear.

Prince Henry expreſſed his deſire to ſee Moſco. The ſledges were immediately prepared; and he was tranſported thither with extraordinary celerity. Three weeks afterwards he was already back in St. Peterſburg.

Among the various preſents which he received of the empreſs was obſerved the ſtar of the order of St. Andrew, full of very large brilliants, together with a ſingle diamond valued at 40,000 rubles. The portrait of Catharine was incloſed in this ring *.

However, neither feſtivities nor pleaſures prevented prince Henry from accompliſhing the ſecret object of his journey. In the private converſations which he had with the empreſs, the diſmemberment of Poland was reſolved on †.

Catharine

* The empreſs, moreover, preſented him with a collection of medals in gold, and a variety of rich furs. She alſo made great preſents to all the perſons of his ſuite.

† A letter written at the time by Mr. profeſſor Richardſon, of Glaſgow, at that time in the family of the late lord Cathcart, ambaſſador at St. Peterſburg, as tutor to the preſent lord, diſcovers ſuch acuteneſs of perſpicacity, as,

Catharine and Frederic were equally desirous of undertaking this dismemberment; but they could

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since the event, to have the air of prophecy, that it is impossible to resist the making the following extract from it. It stands the xlist in his collection, and bears date Jan. 4, 1771:—"This city, since the beginning of winter, has exhibited a continued scene of festivity and amusements; feasts, balls, concerts, plays, operas, fireworks, and masquerades in constant succession; and all in honour of, and to divert, his royal highness prince Henry of Prussia, the famous brother of the present king. Yet his royal highness does not seem much diverted. He looks at them as an old cat looks at the gambols of a young kitten; or as one who had higher sport going on in his own mind, than the pastime of fiddling and dancing. He came here about the beginning of November, on pretence of a friendly visit to the empress, to have the happiness of waiting on so *magnanimous* a princess; and to see with his own eyes the progress of those immense improvements so highly celebrated by Voltaire, and those french writers who receive gifts from her majesty. As the queen of Sheba had heard of king Solomon's "acts and wisdom," and "came to see whether "she had heard a true report of them in her own land;" so also this royal prince hath come to visit this mighty princess. It may be too that, like the queen of Sheba, he is come to prove her majesty with "hard questions;" if so, he may depend upon getting answers to all his questions; and if he has any desires which she can grant, she will "grant him "his heart's desire." I could, with the greatest ease, make out an exact parallel, in which the precious stones, the camels, and asses, brought by the sheban potentate to Jerusalem, would, I assure you, make no contemptible figure.

But

could not do it without a third ally. If Maria Thereſa had been ſtill ſole miſtreſs of the empire,

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But do you ſeriouſly imagine, that this creature of ſkin and bone ſhould travel through Sweden, whence he is come at preſent, and Finland and Poland, all for the pleaſure of ſeeing the metropolis and empreſs of Ruſſia? Other princes may purſue ſuch paſtime; but the princes of the houſe of Brandenburg fly at a nobler quarry. Or is the king of Pruſſia, as a tame ſpectator, to reap no advantage from the troubles of Poland and the turkiſh war? What is the meaning of his late conferences with the emperor of Germany? Depend upon it, theſe planetary conjunctions are the forerunners of great events. Time, and perhaps a few months, may unfold the ſecret. You will recollect the ſigns, when you ſhall hear after this of changes, uſurpations, and revolutions. Prince Henry of Pruſſia is one of the moſt celebrated generals of the preſent age. So great are his military talents, that his brother, who is not apt to pay compliments, ſays of him, that in commanding an army he was never known to commit a fault. This, however, is but a negative kind of praiſe. He reſerves to himſelf the glory of ſuperior genius, which, though capable of brilliant atchievements, is yet liable to unwary miſtakes; and allows him no other than the praiſe of correctneſs. To judge of him by his appearance, I ſhould form no high eſtimate of his abilities. But the ſcythian ambaſſadors judged in the ſame manner of Alexander the great. He is under the middle ſize, very thin, he walks firmly enough, or rather ſtruts, as if he wanted to walk firmly; and has little dignity in his air or geſture. He is dark-complexioned; and he wears his hair, which is remarkably thick, clubbed, and dreſſed with a high toupée. His forehead is high; his

empire, they would not, perhaps, have ſucceeded in making her a ſharer in ſo unjuſt a ſpoliation. Joſeph II. was not ſo difficult. Turkey, France, England, might alſo have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees; but theſe powers were ſo eaſily deceived, or ſo indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catharine ſaid to prince Henry, "I will frighten Turkey; "I will flatter England; do you take upon you "to buy over Auſtria, that ſhe may amuſe "France."

Prince Henry knew ſo well the diſpoſitions of Joſeph II. and of his miniſter Kaunitz, that he

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eyes large, with a little ſquint; and when he ſmiles, his upper lip is drawn up a little in the middle. His look expreſſes ſagacity and obſervation; but nothing very amiable: and his manner is grave and ſtiff, rather than affable. He was dreſſed, when I firſt ſaw him, in a light blue frock, with ſilver frogs; and wore a red waiſtcoat and blue breeches. He is not very popular among the Ruſſians; and accordingly their wits are diſpoſed to amuſe themſelves with his appearance, and particularly with his toupée. They ſay he reſembles Sampſon; that all his ſtrength lies in his hair; and that, conſcious of this, and recollecting the fate of the ſon of Manoah, he ſuffers not the nigh approaches of any deceitful Dalilah. They ſay he is like the comet, which, about fifteen months ago, appeared ſo formidable in the ruſſian hemiſphere; and which, exhibiting a ſmall watery body, but a moſt enormous train, diſmayed the northern and eaſtern potentates "with fear of change."

acted

acted as if he had been already in concert with them. He ſettled with Catharine the conditions to be obſerved in the diſmemberment of Poland, and fixed the extent of territory that each of the powers in this copartnerſhip ſhould appropriate to itſelf. However, the treaty between them was not ſigned till two years afterwards *.

The war continued to rage with fury on the frontiers of Turkey; and while it cheriſhed in the mind of Catharine the ambition of conqueſt, it ſerved alſo as a military ſchool to the Ruſſians. Prince Gallitzin, humiliated at his defeat, made a freſh attempt againſt Khotyim. It was not more ſucceſsful than the former. Sixty thouſand Turks marched to the defence of that place; they defended it bravely, and purſued the Ruſſians quite into Poland: but being vanquiſhed in their turn, they retreated to Moldavia.

At the beginning of this campaign the Turks fought with great courage and obſtinacy; but the ignorance of their generals, and the diſorder that reigned in their armies, often coſt them a defeat. After ten months of war, their army was almoſt entirely deſtroyed, and the fortreſs of Khotyim, which it had at firſt ſo valiantly de-

* It was ſigned at Peterſburg in the month of February 1772.

fended, was abandoned without reſiſtance to 200 ruſſian grenadiers.

The empreſs, on hearing that when the Turks were purſuing prince Gallitzin, they had entered on the poliſh territory, pretended that Poland ought not to ſuffer with impunity this infraction of the treaty of Carlovitz. Staniſlaus Auguſtus and the ſenate of Warſaw, always ſubmiſſive to the good pleaſure of Catharine, declared war againſt the porte. This procedure, however, added nothing to the forces of the Ruſſians. What exertions could be made by a country without an army, without money, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her genius. While her armies were haraſſing the Ottomans on the banks of the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dnieſter, and her fleets were triumphing on the Euxine, ſhe reſolved to attack them even in the iſles of Greece. Her miniſters were againſt this plan, excepting count Ivan Chernicheff and Gregory Orloff. Catharine, however, ſet about the proper meaſures for executing her darling ſcheme. The dock yards of Archangel, of Cronſtadt, and Reval, now ſwarmed with workmen from all parts of the country; and the keels of as many

ſhips

ſhips as could be begun at one time were immediately laid; the main timbers of theſe ſhips were of oak, and the other parts of fir. She exerted herſelf to keep up the beſt underſtanding with the two maritime powers, England and Denmark. For the improvement of her ſea-officers, ſhe had before engaged Engliſhmen in her ſervice, the number of whom was now doubled. Others ſhe ſent to Malta, to make themſelves acquainted with the art of managing the gallies. In order to accuſtom the lower claſſes of the marine, from the captain to the cabin-boy, to ſeas as yet unknown to them, ſhe ordered a new-built frigate, the Nadejeda Blogopolutſhik (the Succeſsful Hope) to be got ready for ſea, and invited ſome merchants of Peterſburg to make ventures in it for a direct commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean. The empreſs undertook to provide the crew, and in all other reſpects to be an equal partner in the trade with the reſt. This being ſettled, the command was given to captain Pleſtſcheyef. This was the firſt ſhip which bore the ruſſian flag in the Mediterranean: it was out on the voyage two years, and in that time viſited almoſt all the ports of that ſea. Able and experienced officers, eſpecially from the britiſh navy, readily entered into the imperial ſervice; Elphinſton, Greig,

Tate, Dugdale, and many others, not to mention ſir Charles Knowles, who acted more as ſuperintendant and director of the dock-yards than in a ſtrictly naval capacity *: even the pilots on board the fleet, beſides native Ruſſians, conſiſted of Engliſhmen, Danes, and Dutch. The empreſs concluded a particular treaty with Denmark, by which that kingdom was to keep in conſtant readineſs 800 ſeamen for the ſervice of Ruſſia. And laſtly, ſhe requeſted of the maritime powers a friendly reception and aſſiſtance to her ſhips of war. England and Tuſcany complied with this requeſt; Malta conſented that three ruſſian men of war, but no more at one time, ſhould enter the port of la Valetta; France, Spain, Venice, and Naples, would admit only merchant-ſhips from that country in their ports.

Accordingly, in September 1769, what no one would have believed, two ſquadrons of ruſſian men of war ſailed from Archangel and Reval, which were ſoon followed by others from the Baltic, and ſteered their hitherto unattempted

* To the zeal and abilities of admiral ſir Charles Knowles, Ruſſia is indebted for the preſent improved ſtate of the art of ſhip-building in that country. The admiral had much to reform in the admiralty; and what he effected was really ſurpriſing.

courſe

courſe for the Mediterranean. The fleet now conſiſting of 20 ſail of the line, 6 frigates, ſeveral tranſports, a number of bomb-ketches, gallies and veſſels with troops for land-ſervice, left the Baltic, croſſed the north ſea, paſſed the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and, after having been diſperſed by a tempeſt, collected again, and diſplayed in the Archipelago its victorious flag. This fleet was commanded by admiral Spiridoff: but that admiral himſelf was under the orders of Alexèy Orloff, whoſe ſhare in the revolution had raiſed him all at once from a ſimple ſoldier to the rank of general, and whoſe audacity ſerved him inſtead of experience and talents.

All Europe was aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, which till the preſent century was hardly known but by the map, now entering its harbours and braving its coaſts. What a change of fortune! Ruſſians landed on Paros, Melos, and other iſlands, and even on the continent of antient Greece. Ruſſians conquered Neſtor's Pylos*, and the famous Sparta†; laid ſiege to Corinth, and captured Lemnos and Mytelene‡. Ruſſians were

* At preſent Navarino. † Now Miſtra.

‡ Captain Ployart, who commanded one of the ſhips in this expedition, and is now an admiral in the daniſh fleet, going on ſhore at Naxos, took with him a Homer, an old ſchool-

were fighting in Syria and Ægypt, where, from 1770 to 1773, they ſupported the enterpriſing Ali-bey.—But here indeed many errors were committed, whereby ſeveral of the advantages that had been gained were obliged to be abandoned. A great part of the fault lay with the unſteady Greeks, Mainots, and Montenegrins, who at firſt declared themſelves very warmly againſt the Turks, but, more inclined to robbery and depredation than regular fighting, ſhewed neither diſcipline, fidelity, nor courage.

A long time before the ſailing of this fleet for the Archipelago, the empreſs had been preparing the way by ſettling a good underſtanding with the principal iſles of Greece. Her emiſſaries flattered them with the hopes of exciting a general revolt in thoſe countries. Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfou, and attached to the greek religion, came to St. Peteſburg, where he was decorated with the order of

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ſchool-book which he happened to have on board, and ſhewed it to ſome of the natives, who begged it of him with the moſt earneſt importunity. The captain complied with their deſires; and on going again on ſhore the next day, he ſaw an elderly man with his back to a wall, reading the ſpeeches of the firſt Iliad with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of 14 or 15 perſons.

St.

St. Anne, and the title of miniſter from Ruſſia to Venice. He promiſed in gratitude, to advance the ſums that were neceſſary for the expedition of Alexèy Orloff, and he actually furniſhed a capital of 35,000,000 of livres tournois*.

On the event of the war againſt the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the conſideration in which Ruſſia ſhould henceforth be held in Europe. Catharine was not ignorant of it. Accordingly ſhe employed every effort of her power, and every exertion of her mind, in order to enſure ſucceſs.

New ſquadrons were built, numerous recruits went and joined her camps. Not altogether ſatisfied with prince Gallitzin, the empreſs recalled him, and gave the command of her army to count Romantzoff, who was ſucceeded in the

* The empreſs procured, beſides, ſeveral conſiderable loans at Leghorn, at Genoa, at Lucca, and at Amſterdam. The merchants of Holland had at firſt ſhewn reluctance at lending their money. Piqued with reſentment that Mr. William Gomm, the banker of the court of Peterſburg, had thought fit to diſpenſe with their aſſiſtance, and to eſtabliſh a courſe of exchange direct between Ruſſia and England, they cauſed bills of exchange of his for 300,000 florins to be proteſted in one day, and occaſioned him to ſtop. But they were offered an eſpecial mortgage on the cuſtom-houſes of Peterſburg and Riga; and allured by this bait, they lent them all that they deſired.

Ukraine

Ukraine by general Panin*. Prince Dolgorouky had a third army under his command.

Neither were the Turks backward in reinforcing their armies, and putting at their head generals whom they thought the moſt capable of leading them on to battle. The grand vizir took upon himſelf the general command. They received alſo powerful ſuccours from the Krimea. The famous Kerim-Gueray was lately dead, and his nephew had ſucceeded him. The new khan was weak and of a pacific diſpoſition. The Turks cauſed him to be depoſed; and in his room was elected Kaplan Gueray, a warlike prince, who preſently put himſelf at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tartars.

The Ruſſians opened the campaign by the ſiege of Bender, a place celebrated for the retreat and the long ſojourn of Charles XII. But, haraſſed by the Tartars, they were obliged for ſome time to relinquiſh the hope of capturing that town. More ſucceſsful on another ſide, they got poſſeſſion of Yaſſi and of Ibraïloff.

Theſe advantages were of but ſmall importance. Two ſignal battles decided the fate of the campaign, and ſecured the glory of Romantzoff. The firſt was fought on the borders of

* Brother of the miniſter.

the

the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of 80,000 men, were commanded by the khan of the Krimea, who had dexterouſly intrenched himſelf on a hill, where it was not poſſible to attack them. Romantzoff encamped on an oppoſite ſtation, and for the ſpace of a month was vainly endeavouring to bring them to a battle. At length they loſt all patience. A movement of Romantzoff led them to imagine that he was on the point of retreating; and a body of 20,000 men having gone down to purſue him, they were repulſed with loſs into their very camp, which they reached in terror and diſorder.

Animated by this ſucceſs, they loſt no time in mounting the hill by eſcalade; and after a vigorous reſiſtance, their enemies abandoned to them their intrenchments and a conſiderable part of their baggage and artillery.

After this they retired towards the Danube, where they expected to be reinforced by detachments from the grand ottoman army. Indeed the grand vizir, who commanded it, did paſs the river, and came to the aſſiſtance of the vanquiſhed.

Romantzoff, who, thinking he was in purſuit of an army in confuſion, had advanced towards the

the mouth of the river Pruth*, found himself all at once in the face of 150,000 Turks. His situation was the more dangerous, as he had been forced to detach a corps of his army for the protection of a convoy he was hourly expecting. The khan, who was indulging in the hopes of revenge, spread his forces to the left of the russian army, and surrounded it in such a manner, as to cut off all possibility of retreat.

Though the russian troops were far inferior in numbers to those of the Turks, these latter took the same precautions as if they had had to contend with an enemy who amounted to an equal number with themselves. During the night, they surrounded their camp with a triple intrenchment. The following day the grand vizir gave the signal of battle; and the Russians were attacked on all sides at once. The firing was kept up for five hours, without any decided advantage to either party. But general Romantzoff, judging that the cannon and the musquetry would complete the destruction of his army, gave orders to fall upon the enemy with bayonets fixed. The Turks gave way, and retreated within their intrenchments, where they

* The Pruth flows into the Danube.

defended

defended themſelves a long time with great bravery; but numbers were at length obliged to yield to diſcipline and ſkill. The defeat of the Ottomans was complete*. They retreated carrying off the vizir in their flight, and leaving almoſt a third of their army on the field of battle. The greater part of the baggage, and the ſtores of this army, 143 pieces of braſs cannon, and 7000 waggons loaded with proviſions, remained in poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians, and ſupplied them with the means of obtaining new victories.

Soon after this Romantzoff paſſed the Dnieſter. Prince Repnin made the conqueſt of Iſmaïloff. Panin laid ſiege to Bender; and that place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garriſon, but entertaining no longer any hope of being relieved, ſurrendered† after a reſiſtance of nearly three months; the capture of this fortreſs brought with it the ſubmiſſion of the Tartars of Budziak and Otchakoff to the ruſſian ſceptre.

General Igelſtrohm took the important town and fortreſs of Ackerman‡, the capital of Beſſa-

* In the month of July.

† At the beginning of September.

‡ Towards the end of the ſame month.

rabia, by aſſault; it is ſituated on the Euxine, at the mouth of the Dnieſter*.

The news of ſuch great and repeated ſucceſſes augmented the pride and the ſecurity of Catharine. The diſaffected, who ſurrounded her throne, dared no longer conſpire againſt a princeſs who was triumphing at ſuch a diſtance over her moſt formidable enemies. The provinces of Valakhia, Moldavia, and Beſſarabia, ſubmitting to the ruſſian arms, ſent deputies to Peterſburg, to do homage to the empreſs. She received them with magnificence, and loaded them with benefits.

Theſe three provinces, along with Tranſylvania, formed much the greateſt and moſt conſiderable part of the ancient Dacia. They lie between the 43d and 48th degrees of latitude, and are defended on three ſides, by the Dnieſter, the Euxine, and the Danube; the former on the north ſeparates Moldavia and Beſſarabia from Poland and Little Tartary, the Black Sea is the boundary on the eaſt, and the Danube ſhuts in Valakhia, from Bulgaria and Servia on the ſouth; Tranſylvania and the bannat of Temeſwar, form the weſtern boundary. Theſe countries, whether we conſider the happineſs of the climate, the extraordinary fer-

* Ackerman ſignifies the white town.

tility

tility in general of the ſoil, or the excellency of the products, are perhaps equal to any, and are certainly ſuperior to moſt in Europe. From the ſurpriſing luxuriancy of their paſtures, which are ſcarcely to be paralleled in any part of the world, they produced, beſides admirable horſes, almoſt incredible numbers of excellent oxen and ſheep, with which, notwithſtanding the repeated calamities they have undergone, they have long ſupported the markets of Conſtantinople. Their other products in corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, beſides a great variety of mines, were, in a ſtate of culture, equal to thoſe we have already mentioned. The people were calculated to enjoy theſe bleſſings, being able-bodied, brave, and warlike. Their power was ſuch, that notwithſtanding their groaning under a cruel and execrable domeſtic government, the prince of Valakhia, a few centuries ago, was able at a ſhort notice, to bring from that province only, 70,000 men into the field againſt the Turks.

All theſe advantages were inſufficient to protect them againſt ſiniſter events. The primary cauſe of their ruin, was the cruel and arbitrary conduct of their deſpots: the bad neighbourhood of the Germans and Turks, equally inſidious and oppreſſive in their deſigns, and ever watch-

ful to take an advantage of their diſſenſions, precipitated their deſtruction; the wretched policy, and cruel government of the porte, have completed it. Thus have theſe fine countries been reduced to little better than a deſert; and ſuch are the unhappy effects of a cruel and deſpotic government, to render vain all the bounties of nature, and to make the fineſt parts of the globe equally ſterile and inhoſpitable with its barren mountains.

At the ſame time ſeveral other foreign officers came to offer their ſervices to Catharine, and obtained employment in her armies; among whom were general Lloyd*, major Thomas Carlton†, and other Engliſhmen of tried courage and conduct, together with ſome naval officers from England and Denmark, and captain Kinſbergen from Holland. Theſe officers, diſtinguiſhed by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the ruſſian navy.

A little after her acceſſion to the throne, Catharine had drawn from the converſations of marſhal Munich the idea of getting poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, and of driving the Turks out of

* Author of "Reveries," a work on "the poſſibility of "invading England," hiſtory of the campaigns of the war in Germany, &c.

† Now governor of New Brunſwick in America.

Europe. The old ſoldier had even offered to conduct the enterpriſe. But too many obſtacles were at that time in the way of the execution of ſo great an attempt. The propitious moment ſeemed now at laſt arrived. However, unable to hope to keep under her dominion all the grecian iſles, the empreſs determined at leaſt to raviſh them from the ottoman power; and the moſt deſpotic of ſovereigns reſolved to be the patron of liberty in theſe fine countries, and to be the founder of a republic there*.

We have already obſerved, that ſecret agents had diſpoſed the Greeks to riſe up in arms. That people, anciently ſo proud and now ſo debaſed, expected the Ruſſians as their deliverers; and the inſtant their ſquadron had got the height of cape Matapan†, the whole Archipelago thought itſelf free. The Mainots, deſcendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, were the firſt that took arms. Their neighbours ſoon followed their example; and the Turks were maſſacred in ſeveral of the iſlands. But the latter cruelly revenged themſelves for the inſurrection of the Greeks. Some thouſands of theſe miſerable

* Afterwards ſhe determined Joſeph II. to ſecond this project, which nevertheleſs was not put in execution.

† Formerly the promontory of Tenaros.

people were exterminated by the ſabre of the janiſſaries.

The ſquadron of admiral Spiridoff was ſoon joined by that of Elphinſton, a native of England, vice-admiral in the ſervice of Ruſſia, and far more capable of commanding than the officer under whoſe orders he ſerved.

To this double ſquadron was oppoſed that of the capudan-paſha*, a man of extraordinary intrepidity, and who, on ſeveral occaſions, only wanted, for gaining the victory, to have been better ſeconded.

He firſt forced the Ruſſians to retire from Lemnos. Afterwards the two fleets met† in the channel that ſeparates the iſle of Scio from Natolia. The turkiſh ſhips were ſuperior in number, and were in a manner intrenched behind ſome ſmall iſlands and rocks on a level with the ſurface of the water. The Ruſſians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The capudan-paſha, whoſe flag was flying on board the Sultan, of 90 guns, led the van, and offered battle to admiral Spiridoff. The ſhips came alongſide of each other. The efforts of courage were terrible on both ſides. Showers of balls and grenades interchangeably croſſed, with ra-

* The famous Haſſan. † The 5th of July.

pidity,

pidity, on the decks of the two admirals. The ſhip of the capudan-paſha caught fire; that of the ruſſian commander could not diſengage itſelf from it. They blew up together; and the ſea was covered with their ſmoking fragments. The admirals and ſome other officers were the only perſons that eſcaped the diſaſter.

While the ſhips were burning, the other veſſels, ſtruck with terror, abandoned the fight; but ſoon after renewed the attack with redoubled fury. Night coming on, they were obliged to ſeparate. The Turks had now the imprudence to enter the narrow and ſlimy bay of Tſcheſmè, where ſome of their veſſels ran aground, and the others were ſo preſſed for room, that they found it impoſſible for them to act. The Ruſſians, who had obſerved their miſtake, made every preparation for turning it to their advantage.

The day following*, vice-admiral Elphinſton took his ſtation at the entrance of the bay, to prevent the Turks from coming out. The next ſtep he took was to order four fire-ſhips to be got ready, commanded by the engliſh lieutenant Dugdale, and protected by the veſſels of another Engliſhman, vice-admiral Greig. Towards mid-

* The 6th of July.

night Greig began the attack with four ſhips of the line and two frigates. Preſently after, Dugdale came up with his fire-ſhips; and braving the vigorous fire of the enemy, and encouraging by his example the Ruſſians who ſeconded him, he himſelf faſtened the grapplings of a fire-ſhip to one of the turkiſh veſſels; and, with his hands, his face, and his hair, all burnt, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to the ruſſian ſquadron. The turkiſh ſhips were ſo cloſe together, that they all became a prey to the flames*. The ſun at its riſing ſaw no more of their flag.

So far from endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the combuſtion, the turkiſh crews thought of

* The fire took place ſo effectually, that in five hours, the whole fleet, except one man of war and a few gallies that were towed off by the Ruſſians, was totally deſtroyed; after which they entered the harbour, and bombarded and cannonaded the town, and a caſtle that protected it, with ſuch ſucceſs, that a lucky ſhot having blown up the powder magazine in the latter, both were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. Thus, there was ſcarcely a veſtige left at nine o'clock, of a town, a caſtle, and a fine fleet, which had been all in exiſtence, at one, the ſame morning.—It is certain that this famous conflagration was the work of three Engliſhmen, Elphinſton, Greig, and Dugdale. The empreſs, nevertheleſs, thought fit to aſcribe the idea of it to Alexius Orloff. She wrote ſo to Voltaire; ſhe repeated it again in 1788 to the ambaſſador of France.

nothing

nothing but their own ſafety. Several ſailors got off in boats, others threw themſelves into the ſea and took to ſwimming, and all of them who gained the ſhore diſperſed themſelves about the countries, and were guilty of ſuch depredations and exceſſes towards the wretched inhabitants, that even the Ruſſians themſelves could not perhaps have ſurpaſſed them. It was found neceſſary to ſend a party of troops to put an end to their ravages.

After the entire deſtruction of the turkiſh ſquadron, the Ruſſians went to anchor at Paros; whence they might eaſily command all the grecian ſeas, and where not a ſingle veſſel was ſuffered to appear without lowering its top-ſails.

The Turks were the more uneaſy by the vicinity of ſuch an enemy, as a rebellion had broke out in ſeveral parts of their empire. The paſhas of Caramania, almoſt always at variance with the porte, took advantage of its diſaſters for withdrawing themſelves entirely from its authority. That part of Syria which is below Sidon and Tripoli followed their example, and the old ſheik Daher excited all the country which reaches from Acre to the plains of Eſdraelon and to the frontiers of Ægypt.

But of all thoſe who ſignalized themſelves by their rebellion againſt the grand ſignior, he who undoubtedly ſhewed himſelf the moſt formidable, and who was moſt in capacity to be of ſervice to Ruſſia, was Ali-bey. Raiſed from the rank of a ſimple mammeluk to that of bey, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, and had experienced, though ſtill very young, the favours and the reverſes of fortune. The rivals of his power ſucceeded ſo far as to remove him from Cairo; but he ſoon returned thither again and baniſhed them in his turn. He knew that the porte had been hoſtile to him, and, animated with an implacable reſentment, he deſired nothing better than to be able to contribute to the ruin of the ottoman empire. The arrival of the ruſſian ſquadrons ſeemed to offer him a favourable opportunity for ſatisfying his vengeance.

Perhaps there never was an enterpriſe in a diſtant country more ſucceſsfully carried on than that of the Ruſſians on the coaſts of Aſia Minor. But perhaps alſo never were generals more ignorant, more incapable of appreciating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of a vain oſtentation, and more addicted to debauchery than Alexèy Orloff and his principal officers. If they had had the ſkill to profit by their

their victories and the ſuperiority of their forces, Syria and Ægypt would for ever have been loſt to the ottoman empire.

Ali-bey uſed every effort to induce them to ſupport the rebellion, and to ſend him troops to aſſiſt him in driving the Turks out of Ægypt. But inſtead of ſeconding his exertions, Alexius Orloff amuſed himſelf with inſiſting on his acknowledging the empreſs for his ſovereign.

A young venetian merchant, named Carlo Roſetti, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the confidence of the bey, and was the firſt whom he employed to treat with the Ruſſians. No one was more diſpoſed, nor more fit to bring ſuch a negotiation to a happy iſſue. Orloff had not the ſenſe to take advantage of ſuch an opportunity. Negligent of the advices which this artful Italian might have given him, and diſguſting him by his arrogance, he took Greeks and Jews into his pay who cheated and deceived him. He was miſtruſtful of Ali-bey, and forced him, by his artifices, to be miſtruſtful of him.

It was only a ſhort time before he quitted the Archipelago, that Alexius Orloff ſent Pleſtſcheyef* into Ægypt. Pleſtſcheyef was favourably

* Pleſtſcheyef obtained in the ſequel the rank of vice-admiral. He drew up an account of his expedition in Ægypt;

ably received by the bey. He flattered himſelf with being able to draw from his miſſion great advantage to the Ruſſians: but it was too late. Peace intervened to interrupt his negotiations.

A courier diſpatched directly to the empreſs, brought her the news of the burning of the turkiſh fleet: ſo that ſhe was the firſt perſon in Peterſburg informed of the event. Count Ivan Cherniſcheff, whom the empreſs had long ſince recalled from London and put at the head of the marine department, was then deeply engaged in a quarrel with the college of admiralty, and that quarrel had occaſioned ſome delay in the expedition of an affair of little conſequence. Catharine complained of this delay, and thought no more of it. She was well acquainted with the obſtinacy and the extreme incapacity of Cherniſcheff: but ſhe continued him in his place, becauſe ſhe had laid it down as a ſettled principle, to change as ſeldom as poſſible her miniſters and her ambaſſadors. When ſhe ſent for Ivan Cherniſcheff to communicate to him the

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Ægypt; but in it he mentions not a word of the money that he gave to the Copht Riſk, to procure for him the favour of Ali-bey.—See the whole of this narrative in the "Varieties of Literature," vol. i. p. 477.

news

news of the affair of Tſcheſmè, the miniſter, imagining that ſhe meant to ſpeak again to him of his quarrel, began, as he entered the apartment:—"I aſſure you, madam, that it was not "my fault."—"Oh! I know that very well," returned the empreſs, "but it is not the leſs certain."—"Alas! yes, madam, and I am very ſorry "for it."—"What! you are ſorry that the "Turks have no longer any fleet?" ſaid the empreſs, ſmiling; and ſhe then communicated to him the contents of the diſpatches which ſhe had juſt received.

The joy was extreme at the court of Peterſburg. Magnificent feſtivities were given to celebrate the victory of Tſcheſmè, and the empreſs afterwards cauſed a palace to be built *, and the foundations of a town to be laid, for conſecrating to poſterity the remembrance of ſo glorious an event.

1771. Count Alexius Orloff returned in all haſte to Peterſburg †, to repoſe upon his laurels, to enjoy his triumphs, and to ſollicit new means for extending his conqueſts in the Archipelago. On his appearance the feſtivities were renewed,

* See before, p. 104.

† He arrived there the 15th of March 1771.

and

and he was decorated by his ſovereign with the grand riband of St. George.

He laid before the council a plan by which he propoſed to render himſelf maſter of all Greece, and to reſcue Ægypt from the ottoman empire. He concluded by ſaying that he would paſs the dangerous paſſage of the Dardanelles, and that for all theſe important purpoſes he requeſted no more than 10,000,000 of rubles.—"I grant you twenty," immediately replied Catharine; "for I am reſolved that you ſhall want "for nothing." At the ſame time orders were iſſued for the equipment of a new ſquadron, to reinforce that which was already in the Archipelago.

During the ſtate of extreme loſs and misfortune to which the Turks were reduced by the war, that empire ſeemed convulſed in all its parts; order, ſubmiſſion, and reſpect to government ſeemed totally at an end; maſſacre and confuſion took place; and, to fill up the meaſure of calamity, the plague now made the moſt cruel ravages: above a thouſand perſons dying daily in Conſtantinople for ſeveral weeks. The deſtruction of their fleet was better known in that metropolis, and was in itſelf more immediately alarming, than any other misfortune that could

could have happened: and, as if the dangers from without were not ſufficiently terrible, the run-away ſailors filled it with ſlaughter and confuſion, and actually ſet fire to the city and ſuburbs at ſeveral times. At length theſe miſcreants were ſo ſtrengthened, by the acceſſion of vagabonds and villains of all ſorts, particularly by the crowds of deſerters from the Danube, who had nothing to ſubſiſt on but plunder, that they came to an open engagement with the janiſſaries in the ſuburbs of Pera, where ſome thouſands of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt diſperſed.

In the mean time, every immediate meaſure was taken for the ſecurity of the Dardanelles, and all the remaining ſhips and gallies were fitted out with the greateſt expedition to aſſiſt in defending the paſſage. The late vizir, Moldavangi Ali-paſha, was recalled from his exile, and ſent at the head of 15,000 men for the ſame purpoſe; where the firſt enemies he had to encounter were the rebellious ſailors, who landed in a body in ſpite of the capudan-paſha, and, making zeal for their religion a cloak for their avarice and licentiouſneſs, intended to have plundered and burnt the city of Gallipoli, and to have maſſacred the Greeks. They were however happily diſappointed in this cruel deſign by

by the vigour and reſolution of the late vizir, who ſeverely chaſtiſed their profligacy; and, after killing a great number of them, reduced the remainder to order. Baron Tot, a french nobleman who had been conſul in Tartary, and was an engineer of the firſt abilities, together with ſeveral others of his countrymen, were alſo procured, to erect new batteries on the ſtreights, and to put the caſtles into a proper ſtate of defence. By theſe means, together with the uncertainty of the winds and currents neceſſary to facilitate ſuch an enterpriſe, all the attempts of the Ruſſians, to force their paſſage, had hitherto proved fruitleſs.

Nor was the revolution in Ægypt, nor the interception of the trade from the leſſer Aſia and Syria by the Ruſſians, attended with the fatal conſequences to the metropolis that were expected; as amidſt all its calamities it was conſtantly and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions; a felicity for which it is principally indebted to the long extent of ſea-coaſt from the mouth of the Helleſpont to the Euxine. In the mean time the winter ſeaſon having obliged the Ruſſians to quit their ſtation near the Dardanelles, the trade though the ſtraights was of courſe again opened.

While

While the porte was thus fatally experiencing all the viciſſitudes and havoc of war, the calamities of peſtilence, and the precipitate deſtructive evils of anarchy, in their european dominions; the ſame ruinous ſyſtem of policy, and weakneſs and relaxation of government, extended their effects into other parts of that great empire, and produced a new and extraordinary revolution in Ægypt. Ali-bey, who had ſo long made a diſtinguiſhed figure among the factions that for ſome years paſt had torn that country to pieces, at length threw off the maſk; and, taking advantage of the preſent ſtate of diſtreſs and danger, boldly mounted the throne of the antient ſultans of that kingdom.

The Ottomans had from the beginning made but a lax uſe of their authority in the government of Ægypt. The diſtance and climate made it difficult to ſupport there any conſiderable number of troops; while, from its peculiar ſituation, and the number of barbarous nations on its borders, who would naturally join the natives, or at leaſt afford them ſhelter and protection if overcome, nothing leſs than an army could enforce a very ſtrict obedience. Satisfied with the very great benefits that reſulted from its being a granary to Conſtantinople and other parts of their dominions, as it had formerly been

to

to antient Rome, the Turks were content with a very moderate tribute, not above one third of which came into the treaſury. A garriſon of janiſſaries was kept at Cairo, where a paſha with the title of governor, but with little more power than what the great men of the country choſe to allow him, conſtantly reſided. The princes and grandees of the country had abſolute power in their reſpective territories, and held a general aſſembly or council every year at Cairo, where they ſettled the payment of the revenues, and debated upon ſuch other national matters as demanded conſideration. To prevent any reſtraint from the governor, or their being overawed by the janiſſaries, as well as from the continual quarrels among themſelves, they all came attended by their armed vaſſals. Such aſſemblies, among ſo barbarous a people, naturally diſpoſed to faction and treachery, preſented continual ſcenes of bloodſhed and confuſion; while the governors, by occaſionally ſupporting one party againſt the other, endeavoured to derive that power and conſequence from their diſſenſions which the authority of office was incapable of procuring.

Ali-bey, a man of ſtrong natural parts and conſiderable abilities, improved upon the line of policy ſtruck out by the governors; and, by

dextrouſly ſhifting for a number of years, from one ſide to the other, and deſtroying by degrees ſuch parties as were obnoxious to him, he at length formed one great one which ſwallowed up all the others. Not content with the kingdom of Ægypt, he laid claim to Syria, Paleſtine, and the part of Arabia that had belonged to the antient ſultans. The uſurper accordingly marched at the head of an army to ſupport thoſe pretenſions, and actually ſubdued ſome of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria.

At the ſame time that he was engaged in thoſe ambitious purſuits, he was not leſs attentive to the eſtabliſhing of a regular form of government, and of introducing order into a country that has been ſo long the ſeat of anarchy and confuſion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpoſe he gave great encouragement to the chriſtian traders, and took off ſome ſhameful reſtraints and indignities, to which they were ſubject in that barbarous country: he alſo wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the warmeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip, and that their merchants ſhould meet with every degree of protection and ſafety. His great deſign was to make himſelf maſter of the

Red Sea; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to make Ægypt once more the great centre of commerce.

Proud of the favour of the empreſs, of victories of which he took the honour to himſelf, and of thoſe he ſtill intended to gain, count Alexèy Orloff departed from St. Peterſburg, in order to return to the Archipelago. Having ſtopped ſome time at Vienna, he there diſplayed an extravagant luxury, and gave himſelf up to indiſcretions very little worthy of the miniſter of a princeſs ſo diſcreet as Catharine. One evening being at ſupper with the ambaſſador of Ruſſia with a numerous company, he ſpoke of the revolution that had coſt the throne to Peter III. No one dared to put the leaſt queſtion concerning the death of the unfortunate tzar. Alexèy Orloff related it of his own accord; and, perceiving that all who heard him ſhuddered with horror, he thought he cleared himſelf of the crime which he had committed, by ſaying, "That it was a lamentable thing "for a man of ſo much humanity as he poſſeſſed, "to be forced to do what he had been com-"manded." But this repentance could not be thought ſincere. The character of Alexèy Orloff

was

was too well known; and the whole of his conduct proved that his conſcience was not apt eaſily to take the alarm.

On leaving Vienna, Alexèy Orloff went to rejoin the ruſſian ſquadron which lay expecting him at Leghorn; and, though in a ſhattered condition, continued to complete the ruin of the marine and the commerce of the Turks.

The empreſs had commiſſioned Alexèy Orloff to cauſe to be painted in Italy four pictures, repreſenting the engagements of her ſquadron and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. Orloff made application to a painter named Hackert. This artiſt having told him that he had never ſeen a ſhip blow up, the Ruſſian made no heſitation of affording him an opportunity of contemplating ſuch an object, and hazarded the firing of all the veſſels in the road of Leghorn for furniſhing the painter with the means of exhibiting with greater truth the diſaſter of the capudan-paſha and admiral Spiridoff*.

Acts of extravagance are not always crimes. But there is no crime which ſuch an extravagant character is not capable of committing. On his departure from Peterſburg he had received

* The four pictures by Hackert are at preſent hanging in the hall of audience at Peterhoff.

orders to ſend thither a young unfortunate lady who had been reſcued from tyranny. This barbarous order was now to be accompliſhed.

It has already been mentioned that the empreſs Elizabeth had three children by her clandeſtine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoffſky. The youngeſt of theſe children was a girl, brought up under the name of princeſs Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil, informed of this ſecret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furniſh him with a ſignal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he oppoſed to the ſovereign, whoſe armies were ſpreading deſolation over his unhappy country, a rival whoſe mother's name ſhould render dear to the Ruſſians. Perhaps his ambition might ſuggeſt to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himſelf with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanoff. However this be, he gained over the perſons to whom the education of this princeſs was committed, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome*.

* In 1767 mademoiſelle de Tarrakanoff was about 12 years of age.

Catha-

Catharine, having intelligence of this tranſaction, took immediate ſteps to fruſtrate the deſigns of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumſtance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, ſhe cauſed all his eſtates to be ſeized, and reduced him to the neceſſity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. Theſe ſupplies were ſoon exhauſted. Radzivil ſet out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leaving the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the care of a ſingle gouvernante, and in circumſtances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to reſtore him his poſſeſſions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Ruſſia. He refuſed to ſubmit to ſo diſgraceful a propoſal; but he had the weakneſs to promiſe that he would give himſelf no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

Alexèy Orloff, charged with the execution of the will of the empreſs, ſeized the firſt moment on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a ſnare for the princeſs Tarrakanoff. One* of thoſe intriguers

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Ruſſia, where he married mademoiſelle Anaſtaſia,

 reputed

triguers who are ſo common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having diſcovered the lodgings of the young Ruſſian, he introduced himſelf to her in a military dreſs and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the ſole deſire of paying homage to a princeſs whoſe fate and fortunes were highly intereſting to all her countrymen. He ſeemed very much affected at the ſtate of deſtitution in which he found her. He offered her ſome aſſiſtance which neceſſity forced her to accept; and the traitor ſoon appeared to this unfortunate lady, as well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a ſaviour whom heaven had ſent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had ſufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was commiſſioned by count Alexius Orloff to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He ſaid that the Ruſſians were diſcontented with Catharine; that Orloff eſpecially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny; and that, if the young

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reputed daughter of M. de Betſkoï, and has ſince been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

princeſs

princeſs would accept of the ſervices of that general, and recompenſe him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere ſhe ſaw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Propoſals ſo brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princeſs Tarrakanoff, and ſhewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience and her candour permitted her not to ſuſpect any guile. Beſides, the language of the emiſſary of Alexius Orloff ſeemed analogous with the notions ſhe had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herſelf deſtined to the throne; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herſelf up to theſe flattering hopes, and with a grateful heart concurred in the deſigns of him who addreſſed her only to her deſtruction.

Some time after this Alexius Orloff came to Rome. His emiſſary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However, ſome perſons to whom the princeſs and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promiſed them, adviſed them to be on their guard againſt the deſigns of a man whoſe

character for wickedneſs had been long eſtabliſhed, and who doubtleſs had too much reaſon to remain faithful to the empreſs to think of conſpiring againſt her. Far from profiting by this good counſel, the princeſs was ſo imprudently frank as to ſpeak of it to Alexius Orloff, who with great eaſe delivered his juſtification, and thenceforth threw a deeper ſhade of diſſimulation and addreſs into his ſpeeches and behaviour. Not ſatisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Ruſſian, he put on the ſemblance of a paſſion for her, and ſucceeded ſo far as to inſpire her with a true one. So ſoon as he was aſſured of it, he conjured her to enter into a union with him by the moſt ſacred ties. She unhappily conſented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promiſed to ſolemnize a marriage which muſt conſummate her ruin. She thought that the title of ſpouſe of count Alexius Orloff would ſhelter her invincibly from thoſe treacheries which ſhe was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion that a man could make religion and the moſt ſacred titles ſubſervient to the deſtruction of an innocent victim. But, alas, was any religion, was any title ſacred to the barbarian into whoſe ſnares ſhe had fallen? He who could

ſtrangle

ſtrangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to diſhonour the daughter of Elizabeth*?

Feigning a deſire that the marriage ceremony ſhould be performed according to the ritual of the greek church, he ſuborned ſubaltern villains to diſguiſe themſelves as prieſts and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with impoſture againſt the unprotected and too confident Tarrakanoff.

When Alexius Orloff was become the huſband or rather the raviſher of this unhappy princeſs, he repreſented to her that their ſtay at Rome expoſed her to too cloſe obſervation, and that it would be adviſable for her to go to ſome other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the conſpiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, ſhe anſwered that ſhe would follow him wherever he choſe to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Piſa, where he had previouſly hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tenderneſs and reſpect. But he permitted none to come near her except perſons who were entirely

* The fate of the young Tarrakanoff may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus: "..... a carnifice "laqueum juxtà, compreſſam ....." Tacit. Ann. lib. v.

at

at his devotion; and when ſhe went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himſelf.

The diviſion of the ruſſian ſquadron under the command of admiral Greig, had juſt entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princeſs, Alexius Orloff told her that his preſence was neceſſary at Leghorn for the purpoſe of giving ſome orders, and offered to take her with him. To this ſhe the more readily conſented, as ſhe had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn and the magnificence of the ruſſian ſhips. Imprudent lady! the nearer ſhe approached the cataſtrophe of the plot, the more ſhe truſted to the tenderneſs and the ſincerity of her faithleſs betrayer.

She departed from Piſa with her cuſtomary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, ſhe landed at the houſe of the engliſh conſul, who had prepared for her a ſuitable apartment, and who received her with marks of the profoundeſt reſpect. Several ladies* were early in making their viſits, and ſedulouſly attended

* The french author miſtakes in ſaying that the lady of admiral Greig was among them. Mrs. Greig did not accompany her huſband on the voyage, but remained the whole time of his abſence at St. Peterſburg.

her

her on all occaſions. She ſaw herſelf preſently ſurrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her deſires, and ſeeming to make it their only ſtudy inceſſantly to procure her ſome new entertainment. Whenever ſhe went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre all eyes were directed to her box. All circumſtances conſpired to lull her into a fatal ſecurity. All tended to diſpel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is doubtleſs impoſſible to believe that an engliſh conſul*, an engliſh admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be ſo baſe, ſo inhuman, as to draw into the ſnare, by deceitful reſpect and careſſes, a victim whoſe youth, whoſe beauty, whoſe innocence, was capable of affecting the moſt inſenſible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived againſt her, and that they ſtudiouſly inſpired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

The young Tarrakanoff was ſo far from ſuſpecting her unfortunate ſituation, that, after having paſſed ſeveral days in a round of amuſe-

* What the French author aſſerts of the engliſh conſul and his family is not true.

ments

ments and diſſipation, ſhe aſked of herſelf to be ſhewn the ruſſian fleet. The idea was applauded. The neceſſary orders were immediately given; and the next day, on riſing from table, every thing was ready at the water-ſide for receiving the princeſs. On her coming down, ſhe was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The conſul, and ſeveral ladies, ſeated themſelves with her. A ſecond boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orloff; and a third, filled with ruſſian and engliſh officers, cloſed the proceſſion. The boats put off from ſhore in ſight of an immenſe multitude of people, and were received by the fleet, with a band of muſic, ſalutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princeſs came alongſide the ſhip of which ſhe was to go on board, a ſplendid chair was let down from the yard, in which being ſeated, ſhe was hoiſted upon deck; and it was obſerved to her, that theſe were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no ſooner was ſhe on board than ſhe was handcuffed. In vain ſhe implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom ſhe ſtill called her huſband. In vain ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No anſwer was even vouchſafed to her lamentations. She

was

was carried down into the hold; and the next day the veſſel ſet ſail for Ruſſia.

On arriving at Peterſburg, the young victim was ſhut up in the fortreſs; and what became of her afterwards was never known*.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Leghorn, who had ſeen the princeſs embark, heard ſhortly after with horror, that inſtead of a grand entertainment, which ſhe was led to expect, on board the fleet, ſhe was put into irons. The grand duke of Tuſcany, whoſe territory was thus ſo ſhamefully inſulted, wrote immediately to Vienna and to Peterſburg to complain of the outrage. But Alexius Orloff inſolently braved both the complaints of Leopold and the public indignation.

* It was affirmed by ſome, that the waters of the Neva, ſix years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the priſon, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind at S. S. W. raiſed the waters of the gulph of Finland towards the Neva, with a violence ſo extraordinary that it ſwelled that river to the height of ten feet above its uſual level, and drove many veſſels on ſhore. The author of the intereſting "Memoires "ſecrets ſur l'Italie," who ſome time ſince printed a part of theſe particulars, ſurmiſes that the young Tarrakanoff fell in priſon by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very ſlight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

An

An adventure that happened during count Orloff's ſtay at Rome, may ſerve to throw ſome light on the brutal character of the man. One evening that he was at ſupper in a houſe * with a large company, he wiſhed to diſplay his extraordinary ſtrength. He with great eaſe broke in his hand ſeveral pieces of criſtal and iron. He then took between two of his fingers an apple, which he broke into ſeveral pieces. A royal duke, brother of an illuſtrious monarch, was at table; one of the pieces of apple ſtruck the prince on his face and hurt him. Every one preſent was extremely affected at this accident. Alexius Orloff alone ſeemed entirely unmoved, and even deigned not to make the ſlighteſt apology to the duke.

Though repeatedly vanquiſhed, the ottoman armies were eaſily recruited, and reſiſted the efforts of the Ruſſians; like a terrible hydra, whoſe heads increaſed under the reiterated blows of Romantzoff and his inferior commanders. The ruſſian general Veiſſmann croſſed the Danube, and beat the Turks near Iſaakia. Soon after this the grand vizir forced him to repaſs

* At the houſe of the marchioneſs Gentili Bocca Paduli.

that

that river, and advanced to Bukhareſt with an army of 100,000 men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But no long time was allowed them to rejoice in their ſucceſſes. In three ſucceſſive battles the Ruſſians regained the upper hand.

The grand vizir retreated into the mountains of the Bulgarians; and Romantzoff, leaving the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter-quarters in Moldavia and Valachia.

The khan of the Krimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine reſolved to be revenged on him, and deprive the enemy of this aſſiſtance. She had already for ſome time eſtabliſhed a ſort of intelligence in the Krimea. Her emiſſaries were ſecretly working to ſow diſſenſions among the Tartars, and to draw off from the khan the confidence of his ſubjects. They ſucceeded in theſe endeavours; and valour completed what had been begun by intrigue.

The famous lines of Perekop had ſubmitted, forty years before, to the intrepidity of Munich. Learning prudence by this example, the khans of the Krimea rendered this paſſage more difficult than it had hitherto been. Nevertheleſs, neither a ditch of 72 feet in width, and 42 in depth, nor 50,000 Tartars who defended it, were able to check the career of prince Dolgo-

rucky. By forcing this barrier that general made himſelf maſter of all the Krimea: and as the reward of his victory, he received of the empreſs the ſurname of Krimſky *.

The khan, forced to abandon his country, to avoid falling into the power of the conqueror, retired to the dependencies of Turkey. Prince Dolgorucky immediately cauſed a new khan to be elected; but neither was this ſuch an one as the Ruſſians wanted; and he detached himſelf from their party without delay.

The grand ſignor, incenſed that Abaza-paſha, and ſome other of the turkiſh commanders, had baſely abandoned the Krimea, ſent them the fatal bow-ſtring, and cauſed their bleeding heads to be expoſed on the gates of the ſeraglio.

The deſertion of the Krim by the turkiſh commanders was not the only act of treachery of which the porte had at that time to complain. It had juſt concluded †, with the court of Vienna,

* This is an ancient cuſtom in Ruſſia. Prince Dolgorucky received the ſurname of Krimſky, becauſe he conquered the Krim; marſhal Romantzoff that of Sadunaiſky, becauſe he croſſed the Danube; Alexius Orloff that of Tſcheſmenſkoï, becauſe of the victory at Tſcheſmè; marſhal Suvaroff that of Rimnitſky; as the famous duke Alexander had anciently received that of Nevſky or Neſſky, on account of his gaining a victory over th S edes on the banks of the Neva.

† The 6th of July.

a ſecret

a ſecret treaty, by which that court engaged to take up arms offenſively in its behalf, on condition that it would defray the expences of the war, and that it would reſtore at the peace a part of Valachia and ſome other auſtrian territories which it had conquered. Faithful to theſe engagements, the porte began by paying the court of Vienna five millions of imperial florins*. The court of Vienna made uſe of it immediately: but, to the ſhame of the profeſſors of the chriſtian faith, it was in making preparations for turning its arms againſt the porte itſelf, and to unite with Ruſſia.

While war thus aſſumed his moſt ſavage form, in the conteſt between thoſe rude and wide extended empires, and appeared diſpoſed rather to exterminate than barely to thin the human ſpecies, the peſtilence, that other dread foe to mankind, alſo claimed his ſhare of the ſpoil, and ſeemed too impatient to wait for the gleanings of the ſword.

For ſome time paſt this dreadful ſcourge had been ravaging the interior of Ruſſia. The plague had manifeſted itſelf in Moſco; and the

* This ſum makes 1,093,750l. ſterling. Some perſons pretend that the porte reckoned only 6000 purſes, or 787,500l. ſterling. But the procedure of the court of Vienna is not at all the leſs odious.

ignorance of the phyſicians, in conjunction with the ſuperſtition of the people, increaſed its fury. The phyſicians at firſt miſtook the diſtemper for nothing more than an epidemical fever; and the people, who ſaw that the phyſicians were not able to cure it, purſued them on all ſides, and forced them into concealment in order to eſcape their rage. But it will be neceſſary to ſpeak ſomewhat more particularly on this ſubject. It is well known that the turkiſh dominions, whether from a want of due attention to cleanlineſs, or from whatever other cauſe, are more ſubject to this malady than the countries of Europe. The ruſſian army, after defeating the Turks, on their entering their territories and towns as conquerors, were met by the contagion, and brought it with them to their country; where the folly of ſeveral of their generals contributed to its propagation, as if they thought, by a military word of command, to alter the nature of things. Lieutenant-general Stoffeln, at Yaſſy, where the peſtilence raged in the winter of 1770, iſſued peremptory orders, that its name ſhould not be pronounced: he even obliged the phyſicians and the ſurgeons to draw up a declaration in writing that it was only a ſpotted fever. One honeſt ſurgeon, of the name of Kluge, refuſed to ſign it. In this manner the

the ſeaſon of prevention was neglected; the men fell dead upon the road in heaps. Several thouſand ruſſian ſoldiers were by this means carried off: the number of burghers that died was never known, as they had run into the country and into the foreſts. At length the havoc of death reached the general's own people; he remained true to his perſuaſion, left the town, and went into the more perilous camp: but his intrepidity availed him nothing; he died of the plague in July 1771. Aſſiſtance now arrived; but it was too late: almoſt all the ſick were ſent to die in lazarets. The deſertion of the place was the only remaining remedy. Two regiments of infantry and one battalion amounted only to 400 men. To the ſame ſmall number were likewiſe in September the regiments at Khotyim reduced, alſo from want of precaution. The baggages that had been packed up in the time of the plague were brought out and opened, that the ſoldiers who had ſerved the campaign in their waiſtcoats alone might have their coats againſt winter; the clothes were ſo infected, that the people who were employed in unfolding them were immediately attacked with mortal ulcers. In Kief no phyſician or ſurgeon had ever ſeen the plague;

they therefore took it for a putrid ſpotted fever. Afterwards, but too late, they were better adviſed. The free intercourſe at the markets and in the churches had already univerſally ſpread the miaſma. Add to this, the ſoldiers were not reſtrained from robbing the infected houſes of the dead; thus infecting themſelves and others. Even the commandant was negligent of his duty in not taking care, by regulations and puniſhments, that the houſes were duly cleanſed and ventilated; nay, he was covetous enough to cauſe whole cheſts full of linen and other goods to be brought out of theſe houſes, and ſtowed in the vaults of his. The governor gave riſe to a ſhameful and ſtupid piece of ſuperſtition, to which he was perſuaded by a turkiſh officer taken priſoner, who purchaſed his freedom by it. This man wrote tickets, containing theſe words: "O great "Muhammed, have pity for this once on the "chriſtians, for the ſake of our deliverance "from captivity, and free them ſoon from "the peſtilence!" The governor cauſed the writing to be ſtuck on poles againſt the belfries of the chriſtian churches; the people truſted to the remedy, and were ſtill more careleſs of themſelves than before: the peſtilence, therefore, naturally

naturally ſpread farther and wider. Within a few months of the year 1770, one quarter of the town alone loſt upwards of 6000 perſons.

With ſuch miſerable doings, it is no wonder that the dreadful diſtemper came by the army from Poland and from the Ukraine, about chriſtmas 1770, even to Moſco. Alas! here too at the beginning, an ukauſe was printed and publiſhed, to aſſure the people that there was no peſtilence, and that a falſe alarm had been wickedly raiſed among the burghers. Beſides, ſome phyſicians and ſurgeons maintained the ſame thing much later. But when the empreſs was informed of the truth of the matter, ſhe diſpatched aſſiſtance with all ſpeed to Kief and to Moſco. The calamity had already riſen to its height in this great metropolis. The principal families left it betimes, and went into the country, and with them went all that were able: the former might indeed have gone out of clean houſes; but who would anſwer for the others? Hence the contagion was ſpread through the neighbouring villages and towns, where at leaſt 30,000 perſons periſhed. But it may be computed, that in Moſco only the fourth part of the ordinary number of its inhabitants were left alive: however, afterwards, in December 1771, juſt upon the ſtopping of the plague, it was

found by calculation, that upwards of 60,000 died there within a year not yet complete. The dead lay for three or four days in the ſtreets where they had fallen, or where they had been thrown out from the houſes; as the police had neither carts nor people enough to carry them away. The worthy general Yerapkin was making every exertion in his power, when in September the empreſs, who, as it is expreſſed in the patent, preferred the welfare of her ſubjects to every other conſideration, in this perilous time ſent her favourite Gregory Orloff with extraordinary full powers to check the further incurſions of the malady at that place, and to put an end to the evil on the ſpot. On this preſſing exigency the ſum of 100,000 rubles was immediately iſſued. Orloff went daily to the ſenate; and every week a ukauſe came out. He appointed a commiſſion of health, of which, beſides a general and a ſtate-counſellor, the moſt ſkilful phyſicians were members. In addition to the two peſt-houſes, monaſteries and palaces were turned into lazarets, a building was appropriated to orphan children from the infected houſes, ſeveral of the public offices were converted into places for the keeping of quarantine, and other ſalutary meaſures were adopted. At theſe eſtabliſhments the neceſſary perſons were

put

put immediately upon ſtipends; and all phyſicians and ſurgeons who were conſpicuous for their diligence and zeal were handſomely rewarded. A new turn was given to the whole buſineſs; and all the precautions for ſafety were viſibly attended with due effects. But methods of cure were ſtill apparently not to be found: very few of ſuch as once caught the infection eſcaped with their lives; their being incloſed, however, prevented its farther progreſs. It was only the ſevere winter that put an end to the calamity in Moſco, as well as in the other infected places. At the beginning of September, in Moſco, died every day 800 perſons; about the middle of October 700 to 600; the 21ſt of October only 400. The froſt continued to grow more intenſe: on the 15th of November the plague carried off 150 perſons; on the 30th ſtill 75: but on the 4th of December only 10 died, and ſo continually fewer: two, three, five, and, on ſome intervening days, not even one; till the 6th of January 1772, the plague entirely ceaſed.—In the night of the 30th of December, during a violent ſtorm of wind, a fire broke out in the imperial palace, inhabited by the newly-appointed governor, prince Volkonſky. As the ſtructure was chiefly of timber, the whole of it, together with the church, was entirely conſumed.

A more calamitous hiſtory of this unfortunate time to Moſco ſtill remains to be related. It ſhould ſeem as if the afflictive viſitations to which the human race is ſubject from the courſe of Nature, and to which Nature herſelf at length applies the moſt effectual remedies, were not ſufficient; the moſt horrid diſtortion of mind, fanaticiſm, muſt be brought in to increaſe the calamity. The ſuperſtitious populace in this metropolis deſpiſed the precautions recommended by government, and the preſcriptions of the phyſicians. The latter, eſpecially ſuch as were foreigners, frequently, as they paſſed through the ſtreets, were not ſure of their lives. Prayers to the pictures of the ſaints were held to be the only true methods of cure. This, which at firſt was no more than an unhappy folly, ſoon grew into a criminal fury. In September, a fortnight before the arrival of Gregory Orloff, a hot-brained enthuſiaſt of the vulgar claſs of people, got together a number of the rabble, and declared to them that the picture of God's mother, near the Varvarſkoï gate (the bridge-gate of St. Barbara leading to a chapel) had appeared to him, complaining of neglect in the worſhip of it, and promiſing by a miracle to quell the peſtilence if that worſhip was zealouſly revived. At this gate he continued ſtanding, and declared the

the ſame thing to the prieſts and paſſengers as they paſſed through it. The ſtory was ſpread from one to the other, and none of the hearers thought of raiſing a doubt whether or not the man was in his right mind. The faithful from all parts of the town flocked in great multitudes to St. Barbara's gate, addreſſing the picture in vociferous cries, bringing ornaments of dreſs to hang about it, and on that and the following days made many conſiderable preſents to it in gold and jewels. Now began proceſſions, and continued in endleſs ſucceſſion. The ſick particularly preſſed forward on this occaſion, and ſuch as were not ſick mingled among them. The dæmon of peſtilence could have found no better a helpmate than the dæmon of ſuperſtition. The primate of Moſco, the archhierèy or archbiſhop Amvroſi, (Ambroſius,) a virtuous and enlightened man, wiſhed to put an end to this dreadful rage, and to that end applied for aſſiſtance to general Yerapkin, who gave him five ſoldiers. Theſe he ſent in ſilence late in the winter-evening to the Varvarſkoï gate, to fetch away the picture that was now become the cauſe of ſuch public affliction. But neither night nor day was the gate free from a fanatical tumult before the painted mother of God. The ſoldiers were driven off. The mob poured invectives on the

the archhierèy, and, one and all crying out that he was a heretic, ran to the church-belfries and rang all the bells, to rouſe the whole populace of the city, and bring them together to inform them of the intended violation of the holy figure. Every one roſe in haſte, and ran into the ſtreets imagining it to be an alarm of fire; but upon inquiry were informed of what had happened; the prudent were but few in number, and the reſt made a common cauſe with the inſurgents and joined the throng. The prelate in the mean time had fled to the Donſkoï monaſtery without the city. This was reported abroad in the morning; the wild multitude tumultuouſly ran thither, and found the archbiſhop in the celebration of divine worſhip. Neither the place, nor the ſtation, nor the age of the man, neither his dreſs nor his preſent employment, made any impreſſion on the enthuſiaſtic barbarians; they fell upon the venerable old man, threw him to the ground, beat him on the head, and completed his murder with knives. The body remained till the following day lying before the gate of the monaſtery. Thus fell this martyr to illumination, the generous friend of his ungrateful countrymen.

The furious multitude now ran back into the city. A party of them attacked the Daniilofskoï

loſkoï monaſtery, now converted into a lazaret, drove the peſtilent out of it, and ill-treated the ſurgeons. The ſame thing they did at the quarantine houſe. The archiepiſcopal reſidence was plundered, the moſt valuable of the goods were taken away, the reſt deſtroyed: the ſtore-cellars under it, hired by a merchant for wine and other liquors, were emptied. Several officers who attempted to check their exceſſes, turned back with bleeding heads. The madneſs increaſed every moment, and the cry was now againſt the phyſicians and ſurgeons, whom they imagined to have occaſioned the peſtilence. An italian dancing-maſter happened to come in their way: he muſt certainly be a doctor; they broke both his arms and his legs, and in that condition inhumanly left him lying in the ſtreet. The houſe of a phyſician was attacked and plundered. They then proceeded to the great hoſpital, from which the director and attendants, and even the ſoldiers who amounted to 100 men with loaded fire-arms, all ran away. All the phyſicians and ſurgeons had already made their eſcape into the country.—But now, towards evening the brave general Yerapkin, at the head of 150 ſoldiers, carabineers and huſſars, with two field-pieces, marched up to the turbulent crew;

the fight was obſtinate and laſted till midnight: 250 rebels were laid dead upon the ſtreet, 300 taken priſoners, and of thoſe that diſperſed many were afterwards found wounded and dead. Early on the following morning, the general rode at the head of his men with drawn ſabres through the ſtreets of Moſco, and placed picquets in proper places. The day after, a regiment of infantry, from the villages, entered the town. The governor, the deputy-governor, police-maſter, general of artillery, and all whoſe duty it was to be vigilant in preſerving peace and order in the city, had prudently forſaken Moſco. Catharine rewarded the brave Yerapkin in a truly imperial manner.

Let us figure to ourſelves the ſtate of that enormous city while theſe tumults laſted; at a time when the minds of all men were oppreſſed with grief at the dreadful viſitation of the plague, when every one knew that each day 800 perſons fell around him. But during the days of confuſion it was impoſſible to think of enumerating the dead or of viſiting the ſick. The number of thoſe who died muſt have been very great, as the peſtilence increaſed beyond all proportion by the mixture of the people. From the 1ſt to the 9th of October, the calculation was renewed, and the

the dead were computed at 5400; till the numbers afterwards decreaſed in the above-mentioned ratio, by the counteraction of the froſt.—At the re-appearance of ſpring 1772, the return of the calamity was apprehended; the care of the government was therefore redoubled. It was publiſhed throughout the city, that whoever kept in concealment any goods or other things in houſes that had been infected, even though they were ſtolen, he might freely produce them; and, inſtead of puniſhment, ſhould receive from 10 to 20 rubles; farther, that ſuch articles as had been in the poſſeſſion of infected perſons, and conſequently muſt be burnt, ſhould be paid for according to their full value. This had the deſired effect: the people very readily produced what they had, according to the tenor of the proclamation, as by ſo doing they got money and loſt nothing. The viſiting of the ſick, of whatever nature were their complaints, was ſedulouſly continued. Travellers underwent a ſtrict examination, and were obliged to remain a certain time in quarantine-houſes, of which, between Moſco and Peterſburg alone there were no leſs than ſeven. However, at the cloſe of January 1772 the plague had entirely diſappeared, which, according to ſome ſtatements, during its continuance,

nuance, from December 1771 to December 1772, had coſt the ruſſian empire 133,299 perſons.

Concerning the murder of the archbiſhop, ſome accounts pretend, that after having cauſed the ſacred picture to be removed from its place, the people became more furious*, and accuſing the

* It is difficult to imagine to what length the Ruſſians carry their fanaticiſm for theſe pictures of the ſaints, which they call bohgs or gods. The figure of ſome ſaint is painted in gaudy colours on a piece of board, and the ſilver, gold, or diamonds about the hands and face of it conſtitute its value. When a Ruſſian enters a room, the firſt thing he does is to ſalute the god, which is placed againſt the wall in one corner, by bowing and croſſing himſelf. St. Nicholas, St. John the baptiſt, St. Sergius, and St. Alexander Nefsky, are the figures in moſt requeſt, except the bogoroditza, the mother of God. Every one has his particular patron, to which he applies in caſes of need. When his neighbours ſee that he ſucceeds in the culture of his fields or in trade, they borrow or hire his god, to which they attribute his proſperity. They then pay the borrowed figure all ſorts of reverence and offerings. There are in ſome towns god-markets, and the ſole difference between the chaffering, is, that in this the word money muſt never be pronounced. Some people will never go to their daily labour, or ſet out on a journey, without taking their god with them; and if a ſtranger call at their houſe in the mean time, and aſks to ſalute the *bog*, the wife replies that he is gone into the fields, or on a journey. St. George is a protector of horned cattle. The horſes are looked after by St. Anthony, and the fiſh by

the archbiſhop of inhumanity and ſacrilege, they broke open the doors of a monaſtery in which the prelate had ſought an aſylum: the archbiſhop then thought to eſcape the rage of the multitude by hiding himſelf in the ſanctuary, where, according to the greek ritual, the prieſts alone have a right to enter. Unfortunately, a child ſeeing him paſs by, ran and told where he was. The rabble ruſhed into the church, and ſeizing on the old man, dragged him to the gate in order to kill him. The unfortunate archbiſhop, perceiving that his death was inevitable, conjured the aſſaſſins to let him go up to the altar to communicate once more. To this they conſented; and ſtood calmly looking on while the venerable prelate was performing the pious ceremony; which he had no ſooner finiſhed, than they ſprung upon him again, and, hauling him out of the church, barbarouſly put him to death in the manner already related. The ſoldiers of the police arrived too late to ſave the archbiſhop's

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by St. Jonas; one cures one diſeaſe and another another.—But perhaps it is unjuſt to deride any religion for its ſuperſtitions; all national eſtabliſhments have them under one form or another;

Facies non omnibus una
Nec diverſa tamen, qualm decet eſſe ſororum.

life;

life; but they arreſted ſome of the leaders of the mob, who were knooted to death.

Great praiſe was certainly due to count Gregory Orloff for his conduct while the plague was raging at Moſco. The empreſs, as we have ſeen, had already ſent aſſiſtance to ſtop the progreſs of the contagion; but it was attended with no effect. It was neceſſary that ſome man of authority ſhould go thither to awe the populace, and make them ſubmit to the regulations preſcribed, and to the obſervance of more cleanlineſs than uſual. Gregory Orloff had the courage to go and brave both the peſtilence and ſuperſtition. He repaired to Moſco with extraordinary promptitude; he prohibited and prevented all kinds of aſſemblies; he himſelf viſited the perſons afflicted with the epidemical diſtemper; he procured them all the aſſiſtance they wanted; and he took particular care to order the ſurgeons and the officers who ſeconded him, to ſee to the burning of the clothes of the ſick who fell victims to this terrible ſcourge; till the malady at laſt yielded to the unceaſing attentions of count Gregory Orloff and the ſeverity of the winter.

On his return to St. Peterſburg, Gregory Orloff found in Catharine a grateful ſovereign. That princeſs cauſed a column to be erected

and

and a medal to be ſtruck, as memorials to poſterity of the ſervice he had rendered his country.

The peſtilence had not only attacked the interior parts of Ruſſia: the ruſſian and ottoman armies, who were fighting on the banks of the Danube, were infected with it. They ſpread it in Poland; and this it was that ſerved as a pretence for the invaſion which had long been meditating by the king of Pruſſia.

The empreſs was adding from day to day to the weight of the yoke which ſhe had lain upon Poland. Her troops purſued on all ſides the routed confederates of Bar, and pillaged or ravaged their poſſeſſions. That princeſs herſelf did not diſdain to partake in the ſpoil. They carried off the famous library of prince Radzivil, containing an invaluable collection of lithuanian hiſtory, and it was tranſported to Peterſburg, from whence it undoubtedly will never return. But at the very time that ſo odious a depredation was carrying on, Catharine tranſmitted to Warſaw declarations, in which ſhe ſpoke of nothing but her equity, her beneficence, and the deſires ſhe was cheriſhing for the pacification of Poland.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of the Ruſſians, were inceſſantly making new efforts to

free themſelves from it. They believed their unhappy king was in concert with the empreſs; and in that perſuaſion they attempted to revenge upon him the miſeries which ſhe was bringing on them. The confederates had elected for their general a poliſh nobleman named Pulauſky, a man of conſummate intrepidity, and ſo paſſionately devoted to the cauſe of liberty, that he made no heſitation of ſerving the moſt righteous of cauſes by criminal means.

Pulauſky reſolved to get poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and truſted the execution of his project to three other confederates*, of whoſe boldneſs and capacity he was well acquainted. After having taken an oath to their general either to deliver to him the king, or to put him to death if they could not bring him off alive, the three chiefs and 40 dragoons, diſguiſed as peaſants, entered Warſaw by different routes. They learnt the following ſunday† that the king was to paſs the evening at prince Chartorinſky's, his uncle. Some of them then went and poſted themſelves without the city, while the others were lurking about in ambuſh in the way which the king was to paſs. At

* Lukaufsky, Stravenſky, and Koſinſky.

† The 3d of September.

about

about 10 o'clock at night that prince, accompanied by 14 or 15 perſons, and having one of his aides-de-camp in his carriage, were returning to the palace, when all at once the conſpirators advanced, and bade the coachman ſtop. At the ſame time piſtols were ſeveral times diſcharged at the carriage. One of the heyducques being ſtruck with a ball, fell down*. The reſt of the king's ſuite, without excepting the aid-de-camp, took to flight. One of the aſſaſſins fired a piſtol at the king, and pierced his hat. Another made a ſtroke at his head, and gave him a deep wound. After this they took him by the collar, and dragged him between their horſes along the darkeſt ſtreets. Perceiving ſoon that he began to breathe hard, and that it was impoſſible for him to keep up with them on foot, they made him get upon a horſe, and on their coming to the foſſé which ſurrounds Warſaw, they forced him to take the leap with them. The horſe on which the king rode fell and broke his leg. The king received a hurt in his foot. They then mounted his majeſty on another horſe. One of the chiefs plucked off his order of the black eagle of Pruſſia, and the croſs of diamonds that was appendant to the

* He died the day after.

riband. This done, the greater part of the conſpirators diſperſed. Seven of them alone, under the orders of Koſinſky, remained with the king, and wandered about with him a long time in the dark, endeavouring to avoid the beaten paths. Soon after, they found themſelves in a foreſt only one league diſtant from Warſaw. The voices of ſome ruſſian patrols were heard. The conſpirators were frightened, and fled. The king remained alone with Koſinſky: but, not daring to call for aſſiſtance, for fear that Koſinſky might kill him, he tried to perſuade him to let him eſcape. Koſinſky heſitated a conſiderable time. His oath ſtood in his way. At length, however, he yielded to the ſolicitations of the king; and, after having implored his pardon on his knees, he conducted him to a mill which ſtood at no great diſtance. The king, without making himſelf known, immediately wrote a billet, which he diſpatched by a countryman to the colonel of his guards.

Warſaw was in the utmoſt conſternation. The king's hat had been found all covered with blood; this naturally led to the belief that his majeſty was dead. But as ſoon as it was heard that he had eſcaped from his aſſaſſins, the people gave themſelves up to tranſports of joy.

Several

Several of the villains were taken, and periſhed on the ſcaffold. Koſinſky obtained his pardon. He retired into Italy, where the king ſettled on him a penſion. As to general Pulaufsky*, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared that he had taken no ſhare in the atrocious attempt againſt the poliſh monarch. This declaration was believed by no one.

The danger which Staniſlaus Auguſtus had run, furniſhed the Ruſſians with a new pretext for purſuing the confederates of Bar, and for preparing the diſmemberment of Poland. But was Catharine in want of pretexts? It will preſently be ſeen that ſhe had ſo ordered matters as to be able to do without them.

1772. The Ruſſians and the Ottomans were equally in want of peace. Their armies, weakened by numerous battles, by ſucceſſive fatigues, and by the contagious diſtemper, were always recruiting and always diminiſhing in greater proportion. The ſquadron of Alexius Orloff ſtill maintained the dominion of the grecian ſeas; but the long ſojourn of the Ruſſians in a climate

* Pulaufsky went afterwards to America, where he had the command of a legion in the ſervice of the united ſtates; and, being on a viſit to M. d'Eſtaing at the ſiege of Savannah, in 1779, he was killed by a cannon-ball by the ſide of that general.

ſo different from their own, and the intemperance in which they indulged, had brought on an epidemic diſeaſe which threatened to carry off every ſailor of the fleet. The capudan-paſha, ambitious to retaliate the diſaſters he had ſuffered, was buſily employed in preparing new armaments in Conſtantinople, and was in hopes to bring out againſt his conquerors a ſquadron more formidable than that which had fallen a prey to the flames. Baron Tott, a french officer in the ſervice of the porte, overcame the ignorance of the Turks, and had introduced into their arſenals ſuch order and activity as was dangerous to their enemies. The valiant Muſſoum Oglou had riſen, for the ſecond time, to the poſt of grand vizir, and had reſumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithſtanding this, the two powers entered upon a negotiation by the intervention of the auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters. An armiſtice was agreed upon*; and a congreſs was appointed to meet at Fokſhiani.

This appeared to be a favourable opportunity to the ſchemes of count Gregory Orloff. He

* This armiſtice was ſigned by the ruſſian miniſter Simolin, and by Seïd Abdukerim effendi Mukabedbadzi, grand notary of the divan.

procured

procured the honour of being ſent to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the divan. He had long been deſirous of ſharing the throne which he had ſecured to Catharine. He thought that, by obtaining peace for Ruſſia, he ſhould acquire an everlaſting claim upon the gratitude of the empire, and ſurmount the difficulties that had been oppoſed to his ambition. But it was this preciſely which gave birth to new ones.

Catharine had been, and was ſtill, much attached to Orloff. Orloff, on the contrary, had never felt any affection for Catharine, but what aroſe from gratitude and ambition. Proud of the favour of his ſovereign, he ſhewed himſelf zealous to deſerve it: but when once he thought that he had acquired ſufficient grounds for his pretenſions, his ardour began to cool; and he even aſſumed a diſtant behaviour. The more Catharine wiſhed to bring him back to his uſual attentions, the more he ſeemed inclined to retreat, and to ſeek his amuſement in the company of other ladies. The empreſs could not but reſent this ungrateful conduct, and be ſhocked at the inſenſibility from whence it proceeded. However, on account of her fondneſs for Bobrinſky, the child of Orloff, ſhe did not diſcard him at once. This boy ſhe privately brought up in one of the ſuburbs of the city, often

going to see him under a borrowed name, and in an artful disguise. It was said that, to remedy his inconstancy, and from affection to the child, a proposal was made him of a clandestine marriage: that he rejected the offer with disdain, presuming himself not unworthy of sitting beside her on a throne which he at first procured her, and had hitherto upheld. Catharine, surprised, dissembled her displeasure for a time; but conceiving that the pride of her favourite might be attended with consequences fatal to her repose, she resolved, without farther delay, to get the better of an attachment which exposed her to too great humiliation.

Though there was no open misunderstanding between Panin and count Gregory Orloff, he was not the less desirous of the downfall of this favourite. Too sagacious, and certainly too timid, to attack him to his face, he missed no opportunity for giving him a side-blow. Orloff was far from imitating the minister in this procedure. He never hated any one, though he was hated by many. His arrogance had procured him a great number of enemies; his favour had raised him up many more. All were pleased at seeing him retire from court; and the empress partook in the satisfaction of her courtiers. She was in hopes that his absence

ſence would completely put an end to the remainder of the attachment ſhe had cheriſhed for him.

Panin, who attentively watched the inclination of her majeſty, was not long in perceiving that ſhe often looked with complacency on a ſub-lieutenant of the guards, named Vaſſiltſchikoff. He immediately thought of uſing this young man to the overthrow of Orloff. Zachar Chernicheff, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was ſtill more odious than to Panin, gladly ſeconded the ſcheme of the miniſter. Both of them thought that the grand duke, who was not ignorant that Orloff had the preſumption to aſpire to the throne, would not fail to behold with ſatisfaction whatever had a tendency to keep him from it. Every art was therefore employed to flatter the new inclination of the empreſs. Orloff was at the ſame time repreſented to her as a man of unbounded ambition, who had only ſolicited to be employed in negotiating the peace at Fokſhiani, in order to betray the intereſts of Ruſſia, by artfully procuring for himſelf the ſovereignty of Moldavia and Valakhia. It was the eaſier to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt him in the mind of Catharine, as ſhe found his rival more agreeable to her from day to day.

Vaſſilt-

Vaſſiltſchikoff pleaſed becauſe he was young and well made: but he was deficient in intellectual improvement, in talents, in experience, and even in boldneſs. Perhaps, if it had depended on himſelf alone, he would never have ſucceeded with the empreſs: but he was not left without ſupport. Prince Baratinſky, expert in the arts of intrigue, was on this occaſion neither ſparing of his counſels nor of contrivances*. Vaſſiltſchikoff was benefited by his cares; for his docility ſerved him inſtead of merit. The empreſs was ſo ſatisfied with him, that ſhe appointed him her chamberlain, made him magnificent preſents, and treated him often in public with a familiarity that eaſily betrayed the underſtanding that ſubſiſted between them.

When Catharine propoſed to the imperious Orloff to enter into ſecret nuptials, that favourite was pleaſed with the thought that his refuſal would only ſharpen the deſire of the ſovereign, and that the acceſs to the throne would be eaſier to him. Accuſtomed to an affection of which he had the tendereſt pledges, he imagined it impoſſible to loſe the heart of the empreſs. What was he to think on learning that ſhe had taken

* Prince Baratinſky took upon him to bring about the firſt interview of the empreſs and her new favourite.

advantage

advantage of his abſence for accepting the officiouſneſs of a new admirer? His mind was at firſt divided between aſtoniſhment and rage: but his pride ſoon came to his relief; and he thought that his preſence would be ſufficient to revive a flame which could not be quite extinct. Full of this idea, he forgot the negotiations, the peace, all the concerns of the empire, and left Fokſhiani without even aſking permiſſion of the empreſs, and arrived at the gates of Peterſburg. At the inſtant of his appearance, the officer on guard advanced towards his carriage, and ſhewed him the order which he had not to let him enter the city. Orloff kept a profound ſilence, and took the road to one of his country-ſeats.

Two days previous to the coming of Orloff to Peterſburg, intelligence was received that he had quitted Fokſhiani. This ſudden return had excited much uneaſineſs at court. The empreſs, who was well acquainted with the violence of his temper, and was apprehenſive that he might make his appearance in ſpite of her, gave orders to double the guard of the palace, and to place centinels at the gate of the new favourite. Not yet put completely at eaſe by theſe precautions, ſhe cauſed the locks of his apartments to be changed, of which Orloff had the key. But theſe cares were uſeleſs: there was nothing to fear from

from Orloff. The moment it was known that he was out of favour, he had not a partiſan left, and his enemies ſtepped forward from all parts.

Orloff beheld his ſituation in the full extent of its danger; but his courage remained unſhaken. When the officers came, in the name of the empreſs, to require the demiſſion of his employments, he haughtily refuſed to comply. Her majeſty could eaſily puniſh the ſubject who reſiſted her will: ſhe rather choſe to treat with indulgence the man for whom ſhe had long entertained a regard. A compromiſe was entered upon with Orloff; and, overcome by the bounty which his ſovereign ſtill vouchſafed to ſhew him, he conſented to retire from Peterſburg, and ſet out upon a journey through various parts of Europe. As a recompence for his ſubmiſſion, he received 100,000 rubles, the brevet of a penſion of 150,000, a magnificent ſervice of plate, and an eſtate with 6000 peaſants upon it. He had already obtained a patent of prince of the roman empire. Catharine choſe that he ſhould take the title, deſirous, doubtleſs, that her former favourite ſhould appear to the eyes of foreign nations with a ſplendor worthy of the ſituation which he had enjoyed.

This

This part of Catharine's conduct ſeems to indicate a degree of weakneſs. But no: it was not inconſiſtent with the firmneſs of her character to yield to circumſtances, when a different conduct muſt oblige her to compliance. She knew that, by puniſhing prince Orloff, ſhe would affright all thoſe who had ſerved her. She wiſhed to perſuade them that her gratitude even ſurvived her affections.

CHAP. VII.

Rupture of the congreſs of Fokſhiani.—Conferences at Bukhareſt.—Partition of Poland.—Peace of Kainardgi.—Emigration of the Kalmouks.—Diſmiſſal of the favourite Vaſſiltſchikoff.—Duke Anthony Ulric refuſes his liberty.—Firſt marriage of the grand duke.—Journey of Diderot to St. Peterſburg.—Magnificence of Catharine.—Deſcription of her perſon.—Her way of life.—Patriotic exertions.—Order of St. George.

THE congreſs of Fokſhiani was opened * in ſuch a manner as to afford great hopes of an approaching peace. The ottoman miniſters preſented

* The congreſs opened the 2d of Auguſt. The plenipotentiaries were under tents; and the conferences were held in a kioſk, which the Ruſſians had cauſed to be conſtructed for that purpoſe. Fokſhiani is at the diſtance of about 16 miles to the north of Bukhareſt in Valakhia. Nothing could afford a ſtronger contraſt, than the magnificence of the ruſſian miniſters, oppoſed to the ottoman ſimplicity. The former approached in four grand coaches, preceded by huſſars, and attended by 160 domeſtics ſuitably habited. The turkiſh miniſters were on horſeback, with about 60 ſervants, as plainly appareled and accoutred as themſelves. Prince Orloff was all over one blaze of jewels: on

ſented the Ruſſians with ſuperb carpets, very fine ſtuffs, and excellent arms: and Oſman effendi, who firſt broke ſilence, ſaid, "That the "grand ſignor his maſter had recommended "him to ſerve God, and to love peace."

The Ruſſians offered to Oſman and his colleagues diamonds and precious ſtones elegantly ſet, a variety of trinkets of gold, and a quantity of rich furs; on delivering which they anſwered, that they alſo were lovers of peace and juſtice. However, they demanded ſuch great ſacrifices, that the Turks were diſguſted with their propoſals. After much fruitleſs altercation, the plenipotentiaries ſeparated.

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on his breaſt was the empreſs's portrait ſet with brilliants, together with the enſigns of the ſeveral orders with which he had been inveſted; all of which, as well as his epaulet and buckles, and ſeveral other parts of his dreſs, ſhone with diamonds. On the other hand, Oſman effendi was clothed in a robe of green camlet faced with ermine, and had nothing to diſtinguiſh him but a gold-headed cane. It would appear as if riches and magnificence had diſplayed their treaſures in the wilds of Scythia; and that ancient ſimplicity had retired to the voluptuous nations of Aſia. M. Obreſkoff, late miniſter at the porte, attended prince Orloff. The auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters at the ſame place, having received a preſent of 50 purſes, amounting to about 25,000 dollars, each, from the grand ſignor, beſides a fixed daily allowance for their expences, attended alſo at the opening of the congreſs.

Some time afterwards, the negotiations were reſumed at Bukhareſt between marſhal Romantzoff and the grand vizir Muſſum Oglou. Theſe two warriors, who had ſo often fought againſt each other, were not ignorant how much their armies were in want of reſt; but their conferences were as unfruitful as thoſe of Fokſhiani. The term of the armiſtice was expired. The pacificators had no longer any thoughts of war.

During all the time that theſe negotiations had been going on, new preparations had been making for recommencing hoſtilities. The Ruſſians had concluded, with the new khan of the Krimea, a treaty by which that prince declared himſelf independent on the grand ſignor, and threw himſelf under the protection of the empreſs. The porte, incenſed at the defection of the Tartars, no leſs than at the ceſſion they had made to the Ruſſians of the forts of Kertſch and Yenicaly, which command the ſtreights of Keffa, together with the territories belonging to them, ſent into the Euxine a ſtrong ſquadron of galliots and chebecs. Catharine had already ſent thither a conſiderable fleet, and had diſpatched to it ſeveral engliſh and dutch officers, particularly the captains Denniſon, Perry, and Kingſbergen, under the command of admiral ſir Charles Knowles.

But

But an object of higher importance at that time occupied the mind of Catharine. She ſaw herſelf at length on the point of reaping the fruit of the troubles and diviſions which ſhe had been ſowing among the Poles. For a long time in agreement with the king of Pruſſia, ſhe left to that prince the care of procuring the conſent of the court of Vienna to the diſmemberment of Poland. She was, moreover, very ſure that ſhe would have but few obſtacles to overcome on the part of the other powers. France had then a miniſter not much endowed with foreſight *. England was bound to Ruſſia by its commerce. The ſtates bordering on the Baltic might be jealous at ſeeing the Ruſſians and the Pruſſians gaining ports upon that ſea; but none of them had either the means or the temerity to make head againſt them. The Ottomans were ſcarcely more to be dreaded. How ſhould they be in a condition to ſend ſuccours to Poland, when they were ſo badly able to defend themſelves, and ſaw themſelves attacked in all parts of their vaſt empire? Catharine, in ſhort, was only afraid of

* The duke d'Aiguillon, who had been put at the head of the department of foreign affairs, was more qualified for paying attendance on the intrigues of the boudoir and court cabals, than to balance the intereſts of Europe, and to ſupport the honour of the french nation.

the refuſal of the court of Vienna; but Frederic promiſed her the acceſſion of that court.

Frederic, without hazarding any thing, might make her that promiſe. He had been long acquainted, by the relations of his miniſters, with the character of the heir of the houſe of Auſtria.

When Joſeph II. in 1769, had an interview with him at Neiſs in Sileſia, the pruſſian monarch, profiting by the aſcendant he had acquired from his experience and his fame, propoſed to the young emperor the firſt partition of Poland. Joſeph II. pleaſed with the idea of extending his dominion, beheld with joy the project of the king of Pruſſia; but deferred to enter into any engagement to concur in it, till he ſhould have conferred upon the ſubject with the old prince Kaunitz, by whoſe counſels he was guided. Kaunitz applauded the predatory plan. Some time after this* the monarchs had a ſecond interview, at Neuſtadt in Auſtria; and the diſmemberment of Poland was finally ſettled.

The plague, which had been ravaging the frontiers of Poland ſince the foregoing year, furniſhed the king of Pruſſia with an occaſion for advancing his troops pretty far into poliſh Pruſſia. The emperor had the ſame pretext for

* In 1770.

marching

marching his into ſuch of the provinces as lay moſt conveniently for him.

Joſeph II. ſeemed about to give ſuccours to the confederates of Bar. His laſt treaty obliged him even to join with the Turks againſt the Ruſſians; but that prince entertained very different deſigns; and he was ſo well practiſed in the arts of diſſimulation, that the confederates, deceived by his promiſes, regarded for a long time as their defenders the ſoldiers who were come to make a prey of their country.

The foreign armies extended from one end of Poland to the other, and acted equally againſt the confederates, who were ſoon obliged to diſperſe. The greater part returned to their homes. The reſt went to publiſh abroad among foreign nations their complaints and their misfortunes.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Poland. It could not be conceived why three formidable powers, in a time of profound peace, ſhould ſeize upon a country, the independence whereof had been guaranteed by the moſt ſolemn treaties. Mankind were likewiſe at a loſs to know what might be the drift of the negotiations which continually employed theſe powers. It was at length diſcovered. The miniſter of the emperor was the firſt who notified the treaty of Peterſburg

to the king and the ſenate of Poland. The ambaſſador of Ruſſia and the envoy of Pruſſia preſented to them, almoſt immediately upon it, declarations in ſupport of that treaty.

The conduct of the great partitioning powers gradually unfolded their deſigns during the negotiations at Fokſhiani. They proceeded ſilently in carrying on thoſe arrangements which they had lately concluded; while they ſeemed reſtrained by their enormity from making a public avowal of them. It ſeemed as if they endeavoured to feel the general temper and diſpoſition of Europe; and by a climax of ſucceſſive exorbitancies to prevent the ſurpriſe which attends novelty, and prepare the public for thoſe greater which were ſtill to ſucceed. Deformity wears off by acquaintance; and perhaps they found it neceſſary to familiarize themſelves with their own deſigns, before they could arrive at a reſolution of expoſing them nakedly to the view of the world.

The time was at length arrived, when the actors in this ſtate farce had attained confidence enough to throw by their maſks, and to appear in their proper forms without any diſguiſe. The king of Pruſſia, who was leſs attentive to appearances, had for ſome time made no ſecret of his intention, and had dignified his acquiſitions, as if

they

they had been countries lately diſcovered, by the title of New Pruſſia. A maniſeſto was delivered at Warſaw *, by the Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſters, in the name of their reſpective ſovereigns, which was ſeconded a few days after by the miniſter from the empreſs-queen, in which the three powers openly avowed their intentions. This declaration was ſoon after ſucceeded by ſpecifications from the different powers of the countries which they had agreed reſpectively to appropriate.

It would afford little uſe or entertainment to enter into a long or particular diſcuſſion of thoſe ſtate formulas, which are publiſhed in compliance with eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and to blindfold the vulgar, without any intention that they ſhould convey either truth or argument. The maniſeſto ſets out with a detail of the laudable intentions and friendly offices of the empreſs of Ruſſia, in all of which ſhe is ſaid to have been either openly or tacitly ſeconded by the other two powers; general complaints are made of loſſes ſuſtained, and expences incurred, in conſequence of the frequent troubles in Poland; the ſpirit of diſcord which has ſeized the nation is greatly lamented, and a moving deſcription

* Sept. 18th.

given of the miſeries it has undergone, and of its preſent deplorable ſituation; at the ſame time that the total diſſolution of the ſtate is foretold to be the conſequence of the preſent anarchy and diſorder, if not timely prevented. It is acknowledged, that this event would probably deſtroy the harmony and friendſhip at preſent ſubſiſting between the three great powers, which puts them under a neceſſity of taking a deciſive part in ſuch critical circumſtances, and with one accord, to take ſuch effectual meaſures as would re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and good order in Poland, and put the ancient conſtitution of that kingdom, and the liberties of the people, on a ſure and ſolid foundation.

Thus far, nothing can appear more generous or laudable than the conduct and intentions of the great allied powers. We are however ſoon informed, that as Poland is to be ſo highly benefited by the mutual friendſhip and harmony which now ſo happily ſubſiſts between them, it is alſo right that they ſhould derive ſome advantage themſelves from this fortunate concord, while it laſts, the uncertainty of its continuance being moſt emphatically acknowledged. Thus circumſtanced, as they have reſpectively very conſiderable claims on the poſſeſſions of the republic, they will not expoſe them to the hazard

zard of future poſſible contingencies, and have therefore determined among themſelves to aſſert thoſe rights and claims which each of them will hereafter be ready to juſtify in time and place, by authentic records, and ſolid reaſons.

That having reciprocally communicated their reſpective rights and claims, and being mutually convinced of their juſtice, they have determined to ſecure to themſelves a proportionable equivalent, by taking immediate and effectual poſſeſſion of ſuch parts of the territories of the republic, as may ſerve to fix *more natural* and *ſure bounds* between her and the three powers. They alſo promiſe that they will, hereafter, give an exact ſpecification of what they intend reſpectively to ſeize upon as an equivalent; and moſt generouſly diſcharge the Poles from all other debts, dues, demands, and claims, of whatever nature, whether on the poſſeſſions or ſubjects of the republic: at the ſame time inviting all ranks and orders of them to baniſh, or at leaſt ſuſpend, the ſpirit of diſcord and deluſion; in order, that a diet being legally aſſembled, they might co-operate with their ſaid majeſties, in eſtabliſhing, on a firm and ſolid foundation, the good order and tranquillity of the nation, and may at the ſame time ratify, by public acts, the exchange of the titles, pretenſions, and claims of

the three powers, againſt the equivalents of which they have taken poſſeſſion.

It ſeemed by the delay in preſenting the ſpecifications, as well as by their ſubſequent conduct, that the uſurping powers had not been able in all this time to agree among themſelves, upon the ſhares which they ſhould reſpectively ſeize of the ſpoil, in the diviſion of this miſerable country. We accordingly find the ſame ſtudied obſcurity in theſe notifications, that are obſervable in the manifeſto.

The cauſes which excited an equivocal deſcription of limits did not, however, continue long to operate; the declarations themſelves being no longer conſidered as binding, than till the three powers could agree upon an arrangement more advantageous to themſelves.

Notice was given by the empreſs-queen in her ſpecification, that the count de Pergen was appointed commiſſary, plenipotentiary, and governor, in the new provinces, and the people were ſtrictly commanded to pay ready and cheerful obedience to every thing he ſhould ordain. They were alſo informed, that though the day was not yet appointed for their taking the oath of allegiance to her imperial majeſty, it ſhould however be ſoon determined upon: and they were charged, in the mean time, to conduct themſelves

themſelves as quiet and obedient ſubjects, in the ſame manner as if the oath had been already adminiſtered; in failure of which they were threatened with thoſe puniſhments due to rebellious ſubjects.

The ſpecifications delivered by the empreſs of Ruſſia were as little adhered to as thoſe preſented by the empreſs-queen. She alſo, by way of indemnification and exchange for divers ancient rights, and juſt and indiſputable pretenſions, ſeized on various provinces and people, whom ſhe incorporated for ever with her empire.

The empreſs not only ſolemnly promiſed her new ſubjects the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and ſecurity in their property, but alſo declared, that looking upon them now as her dear children, ſhe rendered them all in general, and without exception, equal ſharers in all the rights, liberties, and prerogatives which her ancient ſubjects enjoy. In return for all theſe graces and benefits, it is only expected that they will render themſelves worthy of them, by a ſincere love of their new country, and an inviolable attachment to ſo magnanimous a ſovereign. All the inhabitants, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were at the ſame time ſtrictly commanded to take a ſolemn oath of allegiance to her tzarian majeſty, in the courſe of a month; but if any of the nobi-

lity or landholders ſhould not chuſe to conform thereto, they were allowed three months to ſell their lands, and to retire freely; after which time, all unſold lands and goods were to be confiſcated. The declaration alſo ſecures to the jews the free exerciſe of their religion, promiſes that a ſtrict diſcipline ſhall be obſerved by the troops, and orders that the empreſs and the grand duke ſhould be prayed for in all the churches.

As the king of Pruſſia, it was ſuppoſed, would be conſidered as highly in the character of a royal philoſopher and writer, as in that of a warrior, a more clear and learned illuſtration of his rights was accordingly expected from him, than from the other partitioning powers. His ſpecifications were iſſued under the appellation of letters patent, and were addreſſed to the different orders and eſtates by name, whether eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, and to all the inhabitants in general of the territories of Pruſſia and Pomerania, hitherto poſſeſſed by the kings of Poland, and alſo to thoſe diſtricts on this ſide of the Nottée, hitherto appropriated to Great Poland.

In theſe letters, the king lays down the following poſitions, which, he ſays, are facts notorious to all who are converſant in hiſtory, viz. That the kings of Poland did many ages ago violently diſſeiſe the dukes of Pomerania of that part of the

the duchy called Pomerellia; and that they have alſo with equal injuſtice uſurped and detained a conſiderable diſtrict of the New Mark, lying on this ſide of the river Nottée; that the dukes of Stettin were the legal and natural heirs of the dukes of Dantzic; that the latter line being extinguiſhed, ſo early as the year 1295, their territories, which conſiſted of that city and Pomerellia, fell into the hands of the knights of the teutonic order, from whom (in the courſe of ſome ages) they paſſed into thoſe of the kings of Poland; by all which means the houſe of Stettin was deprived of its rights, and prevented ever after from recovering them; and that the houſe of Brandenburgh are the heirs and univerſal ſucceſſors of all thoſe dukes we have mentioned.

Without entering into the ſyſtem of northern juriſprudence, many objections will ariſe to claims founded upon theſe principles; among which, the darkneſs of the hiſtory of ignorant and barbarous nations in thoſe remote times, and the uncertainty in attempting to trace marriages, ſettlements, and deſcents, through the families of petty lords, whoſe names are doubtfully preſerved in books of heraldry, and were ſcarcely heard of beyond their own diſtricts when they lived, are ſufficiently obvious. It might alſo be obſerved, that long and unimpeached poſſeſſion is acknowledged,

ledged, by the univerſal conſent of mankind, as the moſt certain and equitable title by which a right can be claimed in any thing, and would in itſelf be ſufficient to preclude any claims ſet up in the darkneſs, and founded upon the rubbiſh of a blind antiquity.

Hiſtorical facts, however, militate as ſtrongly againſt thoſe claims, as any reaſons drawn from their nature, or the opinions and practice of mankind. It appears that Meſtvin, the laſt duke of Dantzic, four years before his death, appointed his nephew Premiſlaus, then duke, and afterwards king of Poland, to be his heir, and to ſucceed to all his territories; that having communicated this diſpoſition to the ſtates of the country, they agreed to it, and were in his lifetime ſworn to Premiſlaus, who accordingly ſucceeded him, upon his death, in the year 1295. It alſo appears, that neither the dukes of Stettin, nor thoſe of Volgaſt, who were the poſſeſſors of what is properly called Pomerania, ever pleaded their rights, if they had ſuch, or laid any claim to thoſe territories, though they frequently ſhifted their maſters, and were more than a century and a half in the poſſeſſion of the teutonic knights. It might not be unworthy of obſervation, that Premiſlaus ſucceeded to the territory of Pomerellia, 122 years before Frederic, the burgrave of

of Nurenburgh, and anceſtor to the preſent royal family of Pruſſia, had purchaſed the marquiſate of Brandenburgh from the emperor Sigiſmund.

It is alſo a queſtion of much doubt, whether Pomerellia was ever conſidered as a part of Germany, much leſs as a fief of the duchy of Pomerania; the empire has always been exceſſively tenacious of its paramount rights, and its neglect of them in this inſtance would be as extraordinary as the ſilent acquieſcence of the dukes of Stettin in the loſs of a fief, which was guaranteed to them by its laws and conſtitution. Perhaps it may be needleſs to obſerve, that in the volumes of treaties, to which, in the courſe of ſeveral ages, the kings of Poland and the electors of Brandenburgh have been parties, no notice was ever taken of thoſe claims now made by the latter; that if any ſuch claims had really exiſted, they muſt have been long ſince cut off, by repeated and exact ſpecifications of limits and territories, or renounced, in common with all others, in return for thoſe valuable grants and conſiderations which the electoral houſe had the addreſs to obtain in its concerns with the republic; and that ſome of theſe treaties took in, either as parties or guarantees, almoſt all the great powers in Europe. Or if it ſhould be ſuppoſed,

poſed, that thoſe claims might ariſe from the king's poſſeſſion of Ducal Pruſſia, it ſhould be remembered that his right to that province is founded upon no better title, than what proceeded from the perfidy and treachery of Albert of Brandenburgh, who having, in breach of his truſt and oath as grand maſter of the teutonic order, betrayed the poſſeſſions, which they had ſo dearly earned with the ſword, into the hands of the king of Poland, received that province from him as a fief in reward of his conduct, and as his ſhare of the ſpoil.

The king of Pruſſia was well aware that theſe objections as well as many others, might be made to the nature and juſtice of his claims; he accordingly, in the letters patent, took the trouble to obviate one of the former, by ſhrewdly obſerving, that the dukes of Stettin had never made any renunciation of their rights to Pomerellia; a fact which muſt be as readily admitted, as that they never claimed or pretended any ſuch rights. As to all others, he referred the public, as well as the parties concerned, to a work, which he ſaid was then in the preſs, (but which has not yet been publiſhed,) in which he had given to all Europe inconteſtible proofs of his rights, confirmed by authentic records, and the ſtrongeſt arguments drawn from hiſtory and law.

We

We ſhall enter into no particular diſcuſſion of the claims of this prince, upon that part of Great Poland which lies between the Draga and the Nottée, which he pretends to have been originally a part of the New March of Brandenburgh; the rights here ſeem to be founded upon ſimilar principles, and liable to many of the objections which we have already mentioned. From this ſtate, however, of proofs and deductions, his pruſſian majeſty concludes, "that the rights of Poland to theſe provinces, "having been thus in its origin unjuſt and "vicious, cannot, according to the unanimous "opinion of all civilized nations, be corrected "or amended by a long preſcription; but "rather that the rights of the houſe of Bran-"denburgh, not only to thoſe provinces, but "alſo to the other great and important claims, "ſet forth in the manifeſto, remain in full "force and integrity."

Having thus eſtabliſhed the clearneſs of his titles, and the equity of his claims, this prince declares, that as neither his inclinations lead, nor any law compels him, to ſuffer any longer ſuch great and various acts of injuſtice, he will make uſe of the means in his hands, not only to recover the provinces thus torn by Poland from his duchy of Pomerania and the New March

of

of Brandenburgh, but that he will alſo indemnify himſelf for the fruits and revenues of thoſe extenſive provinces during this long detention of them.

To this end he therefore ſeizes all that part of Great Poland ſituated on this ſide of the Nottée, and alſo all the territories of Pruſſia and Pomerania on this and on the other ſide of the Viſtula, which the kings of Poland have hitherto poſſeſſed under the name of Poliſh Pruſſia; excepting only Dantzick and Thorn. As the king is fully perſuaded that the republic of Poland, having well weighed his demands, as well as the *circumſtances* attending them, will yield to his rights, finiſh all differences between them by amicable treaties, and be ready and diſpoſed to make equitable conventions therein; he therefore exhorts and commands the people to ſubmit themſelves voluntarily to his dominion, to acknowledge him for their lawful king and maſter, demean themſelves as faithful and obedient ſubjects, and abſtain from all communication with the kingdom of Poland. As a farther and immediate pledge of their ſubmiſſion, they are commanded to do homage, and to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, in ſuch manner as ſhall be ſpecified to them, at ſo ſhort a date as the 27th of September, though the

the letters patent were only ſigned on the 13th of the ſame month.

Upon a ſtrict and immediate compliance with theſe conditions, the inhabitants of thoſe provinces are promiſed to be maintained in their poſſeſſions and rights, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, and eſpecially thoſe of the church of Rome, in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that in general they ſhall be ſo governed, that every ſenſible inhabitant ſhall find reaſon to be content and happy, and have no cauſe to regret this change. But if, on the contrary, any perſon ſhould preſume to diſobey thoſe orders, by any, either, act, or neglect, or ſhould in anywiſe render himſelf guilty, or even *ſuſpected* of infidelity and diſobedience, ſuch delinquents are threatened, without exception of perſons, with all thoſe puniſhments, which are uſual in ſuch caſes.

No ſecurity, either of perſon or property, is granted by the letters patent, to thoſe who from principles of honour, or conſcience, or a diſlike to foreign laws and a military government, would ſooner abandon their country than be guilty of a violation of the one, or ſubmit to a compliance with the other; as little regard is ſhewn to the rights of thoſe who are abſent in other countries, and who from the ſhortneſs

of the time, cannot poſſibly comply with the terms preſcribed. The ſame diſregard to the eſtabliſhed rights of mankind are ſhewn in the Auſtrian ſpecifications, by which no alternative is allowed to thoſe who do not chuſe to accept of the terms propoſed, nor are they even informed, whether they are to be governed by their own laws, or by any other, the will of the count de Pergen being the only code that is at preſent communicated to them. The empreſs of Ruſſia, indeed, allows three months, to thoſe who are not willing to ſubmit to her government, to diſpoſe of their effects, with liberty then to depart where they pleaſe, which, though much too ſhort a time to anſwer any effectual purpoſe, carries with it, however, ſome appearance of equity and humanity, which the other two powers ſeem totally regardleſs of. Theſe, however, are matters that can only affect the landholders, or the opulent traders, the bulk of the people are conſidered as annexed to the ſoil, which they muſt till, and raiſe recruits for the armies: as for the others, in the preſent righteous ſyſtem, of diſpoſing of the rights of nations, and of the property of mankind, confiſcations may, probably, form no inconſiderable part of the great objects in view.

It

It has ſince been ſeen how faithfully theſe three powers adhered to their renunciation!

The indignant Poles cried out againſt the injuſtice. They claimed the intervention of the potentates guarantees of the treaty of Oliva; a treaty that had aſſured to them the integrity of their territory, and which had long been regarded as the grand charter of the north. Some of theſe potentates made remonſtrances, not leſs unavailing than the complaints of the Poles. Not content with having already ſeized on a part of the provinces of Poland, the three imperial and royal ſpoliators inſiſted that a diet ſhould ſolemnly make to them the ceſſion of theſe provinces.

Of all the extraordinary acts of the three partitioning powers, none ſeem more ſo, or are perhaps more incomprehenſible, than their conduct with reſpect to the convocation of a diet. They urge, in the manifeſto, with the moſt preſſing earneſtneſs, the whole Poliſh nation to lay aſide their animoſities, in order that a diet might be legally aſſembled, one of the principal avowed objects of which, was to ratify thoſe arrangements they had already decreed, and to acknowledge their right in the equivalents which they had ſeized. Upon finding that the king

and the ſenate did not enter into this meaſure with the alacrity which they wiſhed, they loſe all appearance of temper, and forgetful of the reſpect, due either to a king or a republic, renew the demand in terms, and enforce it with menaces, which were equally unworthy of both.

The diet was immediately convoked and aſſembled*. Promiſes and money were laviſhed to gain over the deputies. Nevertheleſs the majority of the diet for a long time refuſed their conſent to the diſmemberment. Provoked at a reſiſtance which had not been expected, the miniſters of the three courts threatened the diet with the full animadverſion of their ſovereigns. They ſaid, that they would cauſe the king to be arreſted and depoſed; and it was privily circulated by their emiſſaries, that if the diet refuſed its compliance, Warſaw ſhould be delivered up to pillage. By repeated alurements and ſtratagems, the conſent of the diet was at length obtained. It iſſued at the ſame time a decree to confine to a ſmall number of days the time of their ſittings†, and it appointed commiſſioners to ſettle with the mi-

* The 19th of April 1773.

† It broke up in the month of May.

niſters

niſters of the three courts the conditions of the partition. It may eaſily be imagined that theſe conditions were dictated by the miniſters themſelves. They were ſigned in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the uſurped provinces had the courage to proteſt againſt the treaty, and to publiſh manifeſtos. But of what avail were theſe ſolitary exclamations againſt numerous armies?

Previous to the convocation of the diet, and during the whole of its continuance, the king had loudly declared againſt the partition. Notwithſtanding this, it was pretended that he ſecretly favoured it, and perſons who knew his former devotedneſs to Ruſſia, could not perſuade themſelves that he would now give it up.

As ſoon as the acceſſion to the treaty of partition was voted, ſeveral of the principal members of the diet repaired to the king, and reproached him ſharply with the ruin of their country. The monarch at firſt anſwered them with gentleneſs. But ſoon perceiving that his moderation only ſerved to embolden them and to provoke freſh inſults, he roſe up, threw his hat upon the floor, and ſaid to them haughtily, "Gentlemen,

"I am weary of hearkening to you. The "partition of our unhappy country is a con- "ſequence of your ambition, of your diſſenſions, "and your eternal diſputes. It is to yourſelves "alone that you ought to attribute your miſ- "fortunes. As for me, if no more territory "ſhould be left me than could be covered by "this hat, I ſhould nevertheleſs be ſtill, in the "eyes of all Europe, your lawful, but un- "happy king."

By the diſmemberment of Poland it loſt nearly 5,000,000 of inhabitants. The country that fell to Ruſſia, and which was the moſt extenſive, contained 1,500,000. That which Auſtria had, 2,500,000, on a territory far leſs extenſive. Pruſſia acquired only 860,000 ſouls*: but ſhe was compenſated by the commerce and the

* Ruſſia acquired 3440 ſquare leagues, Auſtria 2700, and Pruſſia 900. The country uſurped by Ruſſia had for its limits the river Vella, from its ſource to the place where it falls into the Niemen, and the river Bercezina, as far as Rjeſieka, where it empties itſelf into the Dniepr.—Auſtria took the whole of the left bank of the Viſtula, from the ſalt mines as far as the mouth of the Virotz, the palatinate of Beltch, Red-Ruſſia, and the greater part of Volhynia.—Frederic took poſſeſſion of Elbing and the whole of poliſh Pruſſia, excepting the cities of Dantzic and Thorne, which he took afterwards.

vicinity

vicinity of the Viſtula, and by the city of Dantzic, of which Frederic had already laid the plan of rendering himſelf maſter *.

The three courts who thus appropriated to themſelves the ſpoils of Poland, were not unmindful at the ſame time of putting it in a ſtate of impoſſibility ever to regain what they had now been uſurping from it. However dangerous the form of its government might have been, they were determined to render it ſtill more corrupt. They cauſed full powers to be granted to the commiſſioners of the diet, to employ themſelves, in concert with them or their miniſters, in mak-

* Even ſo late as the year 1767, the empreſs of Ruſſia concluded a treaty with the Dantzickers, by which ſhe engaged them to join in the confederation of the diſſidents, and in which, beſides renewing and confirming the former guarantees, ſhe engages in the ſtrongeſt terms, for the maintaining of that city, in all its rights, liberties, privileges, cuſtoms, religious or civil; and ſpecially in the poſſeſſion of its territories and lands; alſo in its right of navigation, commerce, port, coinage, and garriſon, without any diminution thereof; ſhe alſo engages, that if a war ſhould be the conſequence of the preſent diſſenſions, and that it ſhould ſuſtain any injury, either as to its goods, revenues, or rights, thereby, it ſhould not only receive full reparation for its loſſes at the concluſion of a peace; but that beſides, all its rights and privileges ſhould be again moſt ſtrongly guaranteed, not only by herſelf, but alſo by all the other high powers who were engaged with her in the cauſe of the diſſidents. Such is the faith and ſecurity of treaties.

ing the changes required by the conſtitution of the republic; and, under the ſpecious pretext of correcting its defects, they aggravated them ſo as to render them incurable.

After conferences prolonged by repeated delays, a new diet was aſſembled, in which the miniſters of the three courts propoſed their plan of reform. The diet was more tumultuous and more untractable than the preceding; and, in ſpite of the influence of the ruſſian miniſter, who cauſed his ſecretary to read the new project of the conſtitution, this project was at firſt rejected *.

By theſe laws the houſe of Saxony and other foreign princes, who might have preſerved the integrity

* It is too curious for us not to introduce here the baſes of it, as well as the preamble of the captious memorial which the miniſters of the three courts preſented at the ſame time:

"The courts are ſo ſtrongly intereſted in the pacification "of Poland, that while the buſineſs is in hand of preparing "the treaties for being ſigned and ratified, their miniſters "think that not an inſtant ſhould be loſt of that in- "eſtimable interval, for reſtoring order and tranquillity to "that kingdom. We ſhall now therefore communicate "to the commiſſion, a part of thoſe fundamental laws, to "the acceptance whereof our courts will not permit any "obſtacle or delay.

"1. The crown of Poland ſhall be elective *for ever*, and "all order of ſucceſſion ſhall remain prohibited. Any "perſon

integrity of the remnant of Poland, were excluded from the throne, the liberum veto, with the other dangerous privileges of the nobility, confirmed, and all the diſorders perpetuated.

Stackelberg was ſtill ambaſſador from Catharine at Warſaw *. More pliant than Repnin, he

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" perſon who ſhall attempt to infringe this law, ſhall be de-
" clared an enemy of the country, and proſecuted as
" ſuch.

" 2. Foreigners who aſpire to the throne, occaſioning
" moſt frequently diviſions and troubles, ſhall henceforward
" be excluded, and a law ſhall be paſſed, that in future none
" but a Pole by parentage, born a gentleman, ſhall be
" capable of being elected king of Poland and grand duke
" of Lithuania. The ſon or grandſon of a king ſhall not be
" eligible immediately after the death of his father, or of his
" grandfather; and he ſhall not be ſo till after the interval
" of two reigns.

" 3. The government of Poland ſhall be, and ſhall
" continue for ever a free and independent government, and
" of the republican form.

" 4. The true principles of that government conſiſting in
" an exact obſervance of the laws, and in the equilibrium of
" the three orders, viz. the king, the ſenate, and the
" nobility, a permanent council ſhall be eſtabliſhed to which
" ſhall be attributed the executive power. Into this council
" ſhall be admitted perſons of the rank of nobility, who have
" been hitherto excluded from the adminiſtration of affairs,
" in the interval of the diets," &c.

* It is well known that of all the Poles, the king was him for whom Stackelberg had the leaſt reſpect. Whenever he was

he was neither leſs haughty nor leſs addicted to intrigue. By dexterity and corruption he gained over the majority of the deputies, and the diet approved of the new form of government. It ſeemed proper now that this pernicious plan of government, eſtabliſhed by Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, ſhould be maintained and upheld by thoſe powers: but they delayed not to take advantage of its defects to bring it to total deſtruction.

The pruſſian troops, from their firſt entrance into the dominions of Poland, without the pretence or colour of war, acted in every reſpect as if they had come to revenge unparalleled injuries in the country of the moſt odious enemy; and even exceeded what is practiſed upon thoſe occaſions between civilized nations. Their monarch ſeems upon this occaſion to have exhauſted the whole of his fertile genius, in finding out new modes of rapine,

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was in company with that prince, he uſed to place himſelf without ceremony before him, with his back to the fire, and holding up the ſkirts of his coat.—The king one day paid a viſit to Stackelberg. He was dealing the cards at the game of pharao, and without quitting his play, he ſat ſtill and ſhewed the king a chair, making a ſign to him to ſit down. Every perſon at Warſaw was plainly convinced that the ruſſian miniſter was the real king in that capital.

oppreſſion,

oppreſſion, and tyranny. No forms were obſerved, no meaſures were kept, and even the ordinary appearances and trappings of juſtice were ſhameleſsly thrown by.

It has been computed, that at a moderate eſtimation he carried off, in the courſe of the year 1771, from the province of Great Poland and the adjoining diſtricts, twelve thouſand families, who were ſent, with their effects, to ſtock the barren ſands and bleak wilds of his hereditary dominions. In the ſame year he publiſhed an edict, commanding every perſon, under the ſevereſt penalties, and even corporal puniſhment, to take in payment for forage, proviſions, corn, horſes, &c. the money which ſhould be offered by his troops and commiſſaries. This money was either ſilver, bearing the impreſſion of Poland, and worth only one-third of its nominal value, or elſe ducats, ſtruck in imitation of the dutch ducats, (which from their intrinſic worth are current in every part of Germany and the north,) that were ſeventeen per cent. below them in value. With this baſe money he bought up corn and forage enough, not only to ſupply his army for two whole years; but alſo to ſtock magazines in the country where the proviſions were bought, which were afterwards converted into markets, where the

inhabitants were obliged to come and re-purchaſe corn, at an advanced price, for their daily ſubſiſtence, and to pay for it with good money; his commiſſaries refuſing to take back the ſame coin, which they had before obliged the people to receive. It is ſaid, that the king gained, in this ſingle article of extortion and injuſtice, ſeven millions of dollars; which, though an amazing ſum, and that the calculation may be large; yet if we recollect, that by being maſter that year of the Viſtula, he became poſſeſſed of all the corn in Poland that was intended for the Dantzic market, beſides what his troops could lay hands on in Great Poland and Pruſſia, and remember at the ſame time the exceeding ſcarcity and great price of that commodity, both in Germany and all the neighbouring countries, we may perhaps find reaſon not to think the ſum much exaggerated.

Exceſſive contributions were at firſt extorted, which were afterwards doubled and trebled, both in Great Poland and Royal Pruſſia. Unheard-of gabelles were at length impoſed, and the proteſtant cities of Dantzic and Thorne ſurrounded with cuſtom-houſes, at which exorbitant duties were levied upon all the neceſſaries of life, as they were carried into market. In a word, the exactions from the abbies, convents, cathedrals,

and

and nobles, were ſo exorbitant, and at length grew ſo much beyond their abilities, that the canons of Gneſna ſhut up the church, and abandoned their cathedral; the prieſts fled from their cures, the monks from their monaſteries, and the nobles from their eſtates. Thoſe whom age or infirmities prevented from flying, were bound hand and foot, and carried off as criminals.

In the mean time, the young men were every where ſeized, and ſent off to fill up the pruſſian armies. When all the ingenuity of device, and all the reſources of oppreſſion, rapine, and tyranny, ſeemed at length to be exhauſted, a new one was diſcovered, which was before unheard-of in the hiſtory of mankind. Every town and village was obliged to furniſh a certain number of marriageable girls, to each of whom the parents were to give, as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, one cow, two hogs, and three ducats in gold; all of which were ſent to ſtock the king's dominions. One ſmall town in Poſnania, with its diſtrict, was obliged to furniſh general Belling with fifty marriageable girls and their portions; and the roads were covered with waggons, loaded with this new ſpecies of contribution. Thus were the children torn from the arms of their unhappy parents,

parents, and the wretched brides obliged to abandon their country, their religion, their language, their friends, and all the dear connections of life, to be tranſported to unknown countries, married to men they never ſaw, and to live in a ſtate of mutual hatred with people whom they could not underſtand. Theſe oppreſſions continued from the latter part of the year 1770, to the ſame time in the year 1772, when the partition of Poland was formally declared.

It will be difficult for poſterity to know which moſt to admire, the great power of Ruſſia, or the magnificence of its empreſs, when they are informed, that in the courſe of ſo long, ſo expenſive, and ſo widely extended a war, her expences, whether in rewards to her generals and officers, in preſents to learned men, in the encouragement of arts, or in the purchaſe of libraries, ſtatues, pictures, antiques, and jewels, infinitely exceed thoſe of any late or preſent european prince except Lewis XIV. Among many inſtances of this nature which might be given, a diamond of an enormous ſize which ſhe purchaſed this year may be ſufficient. This diamond, which weighs 779 carats, was brought ſome years before by a greek gentleman from Iſpahan to Holland, and depoſited for ſecurity in the bank, till he could meet

meet with a purchaſer: the greatneſs of the price would have made this difficult, if the empreſs of Ruſſia had not exiſted. She paid upwards of 100,000l. ſterling for it, beſides ſettling a penſion for life, of 4000 rubles, upon the gentleman, which amounts to little leſs than 1000l. ſterling a-year.

While Catharine was acquiring by negotiations a part of the provinces of Poland, her armies continued to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune however was not always favourable to her. Fourteen thouſand Ruſſians, in attempting to paſs the Danube, were ſurpriſed* by Dagheſtan-Ali, paſha, and 600 of them remained priſoners with the Turks. Prince Repnin was of that number. He was conveyed to Conſtantinople, and ſhut up in the caſtle of ſeven towers, to which he was led in cavalcade, with the other priſoners who had been formerly taken, amounting in the whole to about three thouſand, through the ſtreets of that city; exhibiting by this means a kind of political triumph, calculated to flatter national vanity, and to keep up the ſpirits of the people.

Marſhal Romantzoff croſſed the Danube, in order to march direct to Siliſtria. Fourſcore thouſand

* At Giurgevo.

Turks

Turks were encamped on the adjacent heights. General Veiſſmann attacked them: they ſhut themſelves up in the town. Romantzoff marched up to it the following day. The grand vizir had already detached from his army 50,000 men for the purpoſe of relieving Siliſtria. Romantzoff effected his retreat during the night; but he was haraſſed by the Turks, who killed a great number of his people. Obliged to repaſs the Danube, that general went and encamped near Yablonitch, in Valakhia.

The grand vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment of his army defeated a conſiderable body of Ruſſians at Roſkana. Theſe ſeparate battles often turned out to the advantage of the Ottomans.

As the Danube was the boundary between the hoſtile armies, it became of courſe the ſcene of continued action; its wide-extended waters, its iſlands, and its banks, affording endleſs opportunities for that deſultory kind of war, which conſiſts of ſurpriſes by night, and ambuſcades by day, of alternate flight and purſuit, and in which from the vicinity of the hoſtile troops, and the facility of embarkation and deſcent, neither reſt nor ſecurity is to be obtained on either ſide. A bloody, ruinous kind of war, which ſoon devours great armies; and in which lives are loſt without

without effect, and courage exerted without honour.

This deſtructive kind of war was not, however, a matter of choice with the Ruſſians; and the Turks were too ſkilfully commanded to forego the advantages which the nature of the country and the river afforded. To them, who were at home, and abounded with men, the loſs of lives, if attended with no other conſequence, was productive of no real weakneſs; while on the ſide of the Ruſſians every loſs was irreparable, or, at beſt, could ſcarcely be ſupplied ſooner than the end of the campaign. In ſuch circumſtances, it would be wrong to judge from events: nor were the ruſſian generals blamable for uſing their utmoſt efforts to bring matters to an immediate criſis on the other ſide of the Danube, as it was the only means by which they could change the nature of the war, and preſerve their beſt troops from mouldering away in ineffectual ſervice. On the other hand it muſt be acknowledged, that the grand vizir, by not foregoing any of the advantages, and by making the beſt uſe of the means that were in his power, by preſerving the grand army whole, and by wiſely abſtaining from a general engagement, though frequently urged to it, at the ſame time, that by repeatedly pouring detachments upon them, he

kept the Ruſſians in hot and continued action, has undoubtedly performed in this campaign the part of a great captain.

Diſcontented, however, at perceiving that her armies had not lately been gaining new victories, Catharine ſent diſpatches to marſhal Romantzoff, deſiring to be informed why he did not give battle. The general returned for anſwer, that it was becauſe the grand vizir had three times more people than he, and might eaſily find his advantage in ſuch an event.—Catharine wrote immediately in reply, "The Ro-" mans never aſked after the number of their " enemies, but where they were, in order to " fight them."

Some trifling engagements which happened between the hoſtile powers on the Black Sea, anſwered no other purpoſe than to ſhew, that from the badneſs of their veſſels, and the wretchedneſs of their ſailors, the one was nearly as ill framed to acquire, as the other was to preſerve, the dominion of that boiſterous gulf.

The ruſſian operations in the Levant were not this year attended with any great eclat, or productive of any conſiderable advantages. Their force, however, at the beginning of the campaign, ſeems, by the accounts of it that have been publiſhed, to have been pretty conſiderable;

able; and is ſaid to have conſiſted of 17 ſhips of the line, of which three were unfit for ſervice, 13 ſtout frigates from 22 to 44 guns, three engliſh veſſels (which they had purchaſed) of 20 guns each, and a number of ſmall raguſan and duleignot veſſels, which, with galliots, chebeques, and chebequins, amounted in the whole to about fifty. The complement of men which the ruſſian ſhips brought from the Baltic was about 14,000; but of theſe many had died, and numbers were unfit for ſervice: the ſmaller veſſels of different kinds were manned by 3500 Greeks and Albanians. Theſe, who were fit for nothing but a piratical war, committed many robberies on the ſhips of all nations, and had long been the ſcourge and ruin of the grecian iſlands.

The iſle of Paros, anciently famous for its wine and its marble, but rendered immortal by its ſtatuaries, had long been the principal ſtation of the Ruſſians. Though the ſituation of this iſland, it lying about midway between the Morea and the Leſſer Aſia, might ſeem in ſome reſpects to render it an eligible ſtation, it ſeems in many others to be greatly defective: among theſe, its diſtance from either coaſt, particularly from that of the Leſſer Aſia, might be conſi-

dered as a principal objection; and its ſmallneſs and barrenneſs made it an uncomfortable place of refreſhment and recovery for ſuch great numbers. It indeed ſeems ſurpriſing, that, after the extraordinary fortune by which they deſtroyed the turkiſh fleet, and thereby became the uncontrolled ſovereigns of thoſe ſeas, the Ruſſians ſhould not, in ſo many years, have been able to poſſeſs themſelves of any one conſiderable iſland, which by its products might have been a ſupport in their enterpriſes, and by its ſtrength a ſecurity in caſe of misfortune.

A ſtrict connexion and alliance had long ſubſiſted between the Ruſſians in the Mediterranean, Ali Bey, and the Cheik Daher; and the latter were frequently aſſiſted in their attempts upon the turkiſh ports on the coaſts of Syria and Paleſtine, by the ruſſian ſhips, who occaſionally landed troops and artillery for that purpoſe. They alſo ſupplied them with ſome officers, engineers, and a few hundreds of Greeks and Albanians, to manage their artillery. Previous to Ali Bey's departure for the invaſion of Egypt, he ſent, in the beginning of the year, one of his principal officers and boſom friends, to the iſle of Paros, to renew and ſtrengthen the alliance with count Orloff, and to negotiate the aſſiſtance he

he ſhould require in the progreſs of his enterpriſe, as well as to diſcover the extent of the friendſhip and protection he might expect in caſe of misfortune. This envoy having met with as kind a reception as he could wiſh, carried back a letter from count Orloff, in which he promiſed Ali Bey every aſſiſtance in his power, and pledged himſelf, in the moſt ſacred manner, that he ſhould never be abandoned, and that in the worſt extremity he ſhould find an aſylum in the ruſſian empire, where he ſhould be as highly reſpected as he had been in Ægypt. The defeat and death of this bold and unfortunate adventurer put an end to the hopes of advantage which the Ruſſians would have had a right to entertain, if he had ſucceeded in recovering the poſſeſſion of that country.

The Ruſſians, in the month of April, or the beginning of May, made an unſucceſsful deſcent upon the iſland of Negropont, in which they ſuffered great loſs, the Turks having totally cut off all the men that were landed. They ſoon afterwards quitted the iſland of Paros entirely, the ſick, with part of the fleet, being ſent to Leghorn, where they fixed an hoſpital, and the ſhips were refitted; the reſt were employed in cruizes or expeditions. They likewiſe made ſeveral deſcents upon the

iſlands of Cyprus, Candia, and others, which were attended with no other advantage than the obtaining plunder; they were not, however, at all times ſucceſsful in theſe attempts, and four ſacks full of ruſſian heads were ſent from Stanchio to Conſtantinople, as a proof of the reception which they met with in that iſland.

Catharine had for ſome time been meditating a marriage for the grand duke; but as that prince ſeemed to be of a weak habit, and a cold conſtitution, ſhe feared leſt he might be little diſpoſed to give heirs to the empire. Her confidants ſoon found the means for diſpelling her fears. They engaged a young poliſh lady, a maid of honour to the empreſs *, to make an attempt with her charms on the heart of the prince. Mademoiſelle Sophia conſented; and ſhe bore him a ſon, who received at the font the name of Simeon Velikoï †.

* This young lady was afterwards married to a noble count, who was living in France in 1788.

† Simeon Velikoï was of a gentle and modeſt diſpoſition, and great care had been taken with his education. Entered at an early period in the navy, he ſerved during the ſwediſh war under that deſerving engliſh officer, captain Trevenen, in the capacity of lieutenant of a man of war, then being one of the 12 officers ſent by the empreſs to learn the art of navigation in England: he acted as a volunteer in the engliſh navy, and died in the Weſt Indies in 1797.

From

From that time the empreſs bent her thoughts to the choice of a fit conſort for the grand duke. In this, however, ſhe found herſelf ſomewhat embarraſſed. She wiſhed not for a princeſs who might probably become her rival, and who, profiting by her example, was capable of forming attempts on her throne and her life. She was rather in ſearch of one who had neither the faculties nor the deſire of rendering herſelf formidable. The empreſs at length fixed her views on the daughters of the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt. Theſe princeſſes were three ſiſters. Catharine invited their mother to accompany them to her court. How contrary ſoever to long-eſtabliſhed cuſtom as this propoſal might appear, the landgravine of Heſſe-Darmſtadt accepted it without heſitation. That princeſs was ambitious; and therefore ſhe liſtened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Ruſſia: ſhe ſet out for Peterſburg. The empreſs received her with magnificence, and loaded her with preſents*. After having had time to form a judgment of the three young princeſſes, Catharine choſe for the ſpouſe of the grand duke the princeſs Wilhelmina, who em-

* She even inſiſted that the landgrave ſhould permit her to defray the whole expence of her journey thither.

braced the greek orthodox ſyſtem of faith *, and was joined in wedlock to the heir of the tzars †.

Prince

* The ceremony of the future grand ducheſs's profeſſion of the greek faith was performed Aug. 26, in the chapel of the winter palace. After abjuring her former religion, and making a ſhort ſpeech to the metropolitan archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg, ſhe was anointed by him according to the rites of the orthodox greek church, and baptized into that faith by the name of Natalia Alexievna, and the next morning was betrothed to the grand duke in the chapel of the ſummer palace. This ceremony conſiſted in the exchanging of rings; theſe, having firſt had the benediction pronounced on them by his eminence the archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg, were delivered to the grand duke and the princeſs, and by them to the empreſs; who, taking the grand duke's, preſented it to the princeſs, giving the princeſs's to the grand duke in exchange: which done, [illegible] both kiſſed the empreſs's hand. After maſs was over, (which was celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity, on account of its being the feſtival of the holy handkerchief, a great day in this church,) the foreign miniſters had the honour of kiſſing her imperial majeſty's hand, and making their compliments to her: ſoon after which, her majeſty, attended by the whole court, proceeded to the great ſaloon, where ſhe dined upon the throne with the grand duke and ducheſs, and was ſerved on this occaſion by the great officers of the houſehold. The four firſt claſſes of the nobility dining at different tables in the ſame room, and the foreign miniſters with the vice-chancellor at his houſe. In the evening there was a ball at court, and the gardens of the ſummer palace were finely illuminated, as was the whole town, and the ſhips in the river. It is ſcarcely poſſible to exceed the ſplendor and magnificence which appeared on this occaſion.

† The 10th of October being the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage of his imperial highneſs the grand

duke

Prince Orloff and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be preſently followed by the diſgrace of Panin. Orders were ſent him to leave the apartments which he occupied in the palace in quality of governor of Paul Petrovitch. His friends took the alarm. The courtiers became ſhy of him. He imagined himſelf undone: but his pupil had the generoſity to oppoſe himſelf to the ſtorm; and haſtening to his mother, repreſented to her, that Panin had been always a faithful ſervant of the empire, and that it would be too cruel an act to diſmiſs him from the court, at the very moment when

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duke with the eldeſt princeſs of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, the four firſt claſſes of the nobility aſſembled in the Kaſanſkoy church at Peterſburg, the ſtreets of that city being lined with guards and ſome regiments of foot. About noon, upon a ſignal being given, the proceſſion ſet out from the winter palace, and proceeded to the church, in the centre of which was a throne richly decorated for the empreſs, and on the right hand a gallery for their imperial highneſſes, with their princely attendants; and on the left, another for the foreign miniſters. The body of the church was filled with the four firſt claſſes of nobility. His eminence Gabriel archbiſhop of Novgorod and St. Peterſburg performed the marriage ceremony, and afterwards preached a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion. The concluſion of the whole was proclaimed by a running fire of the muſketry, and the proceſſion returned in the ſame order in which it came. The feſtivities on this occaſion were continued from the 10th to the 21ſt, with only three days intermiſſion.

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he had the greateſt right to expect ſubſtantial rewards. This procedure wrought a change in the mind of the empreſs. Inſtead of retaining her reſolution of ſending an order to Panin to retire from the court, ſhe wrote to him a letter full of teſtimonies of affection; and, thanking him for the care he had beſtowed on the education of the grand duke, ſhe confirmed him in the appointment of miniſter of foreign affairs.

It was a few days prior to the grand duke's marriage, and on the anniverſary of her coronation, that the empreſs loaded count Panin, who had been his governor, with honours and emoluments. She beſtowed upon that nobleman, in perpetuity, an eſtate valued at near 7000l. a-year, and a penſion for life to the ſame amount, beſides an appointment of about half that ſum for conducting the department of foreign affairs, together with the choice of any houſe in Peterſburg, to be purchaſed for his reſidence, and an allowance of money for plate and furniture, of about 35,000l. She alſo ſhewed a proportional munificence to all the officers of the grand duke's late houſehold.

The famous count Byron, duke of Courland, died at a great age on the laſt day but one of the preceding year, and was ſucceeded by his

Biron

ſon. As the reigning duke was known to be in no degree of favour at the court of Peterſburg, his poſſeſſion of that duchy was held to be very precarious; while it was generally thought, that it would have been thrown in as an equivalent on one ſide or other in the partition of Poland, and probably might, by ſome marriage arrangement, be formed with ſome of the adjoining provinces into an independent ſtate. It is probable, that whatever difficulties prevented the execution, more than one deſign of this nature was in contemplation; and the duke himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the dangerous ground he ſtood on, that he attempted to bring about a match with one of the remaining princeſſes of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, in hopes thereby to ſtrengthen his intereſt. This deſign was cruſhed as ſoon as it was known, by the empreſs, who is ſaid to have ſent him word, that he had no occaſion to think yet of matrimony. In this hopeleſs ſituation he was ſummoned to Peterſburg, and his ruin was thought to be decided; but a change ſoon appeared in the conduct and deſigns of the court; whatever it proceeded from, he ſuddenly became a favourite at court, and the empreſs concluded a marriage for him with the ruſſian princeſs Yuſupoff.

Thoſe

Thoſe who were unacquainted with the motives by which the empreſs had been ſwayed in determining to retain count Panin, found an inexplicable contradiction in her conduct. Orloff had the preſumption to reproach her with it: but ſhe did not vouchſafe to inform him better. Unwilling that this favourite ſhould know that a mother had yielded to the ſollicitations of her ſon, ſhe told him that it behoved him to ſacrifice the ſatisfaction of removing a miniſter who failed of pleaſing, to the neceſſity there was for his ſervice. Always ingenious in diſguiſing her ſentiments, Catharine made no ſcruple of deceiving the favourite, who fancied he engroſſed the whole of her confidence. Though ſhe ſeemed to have reſtored him her former tenderneſs, yet ſhe ſecretly cheriſhed in her heart a paſſion which ſpeedily broke out. She felt ſome inclination to diſmiſs Orloff a ſecond time: but ſhe prudently kept terms with him ſtill.

Of the learned and literary men with whom Catharine kept up a regular correſpondence, Voltaire and Diderot were thoſe whom ſhe moſt diſtinguiſhed. She invited them ſeveral times to come and viſit her. The philoſopher of Ferney had learned by experience the dangers of courts: he would not ſubmit to the temptation

of

of seeing that of Russia. The philosopher of Paris was more open to persuasion. He travelled to St. Petersburg. Catharine lavished on him largesses and encomiums. During the whole time of his stay at her court, she discoursed with him every day at the conclusion of dinner. Philosophy, legislation, politics, were commonly the subject of these conversations. Diderot unfolded his principles on the liberty and the rights of nations with his usual enthusiasm* and eloquence. The empress seemed to be delighted with them; but she was not at all the more disposed to put them in practice.

"Monsieur Diderot," said she, "is a hun-
"dred years old in many respects; but in others
"he is no more than ten."

Perhaps her majesty's private opinion was not more in favour of the wisdom of Voltaire; though she never spoke of it but with all the deference that is due to the foremost dispenser of fame. The manner in which she was wont to write to him is well known. We have already cited several fragments of her letters; we shall,

* The empress made him sit beside her. In his moments of enthusiasm, Diderot has sometimes hit her knee with the back of his hand: she never seemed to take offence at it.

never-

nevertheleſs tranſcribe one of them here, as a further proof of the artful diſguiſe ſhe put on before that celebrated author, and how ſhe ſtrove to obtain thoſe flatteries which he ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon her.

" ..... *Now we are ſpeaking of haughti-
" neſs, I have a mind to make my general confeſ-
" ſion to you on that head. I have had great
" ſucceſſes during this war: that I am glad of it,
" you will very naturally conclude. I ſaid, Ruſſia
" will be well known by this war; it will be
" ſeen how indefatigable a nation it is; that ſhe
" poſſeſſes men of eminent merit, and who have
" all the qualities that go to the forming of
" heroes; it will be ſeen that ſhe is deficient in
" no reſources; but that ſhe can defend herſelf,
" and proſecute a war with vigour, whenever ſhe
" is unjuſtly attacked.

" Brimful of theſe ideas, I have never once
" thought of Catharine, who, at the age of
" forty-two, can increaſe neither in body nor
" mind, but, in the natural order of things,
" ought to remain, and will remain, as ſhe is.
" Do her affairs go on well? She ſays, ſo
" much the better! If they proſpered leſs, ſhe

*This letter is dated the 22d of July—the 2d of Auguſt 1771.

" would

" would employ all her faculties to put them in " the beſt train poſſible.

" This is my ambition, and I have none other; " what I tell you is the truth. I will go farther: " I will tell you that, for the ſparing of human " blood, I ſincerely wiſh for peace. But this " peace is ſtill a long way off, though the Turks, " from different motives, are ardently deſirous " of it. Thoſe people know not how to go " about it.

" I wiſh as much for the pacification of the " unreaſonable contentions of Poland. I have " to do there with brainleſs heads, each of " which, inſtead of contributing to the common " peace, on the contrary throws impediments in " the way of it by caprice and levity. My " ambaſſador has publiſhed a declaration adapted " to open their eyes. But it is to be preſumed, " that they will rather expoſe themſelves to the " laſt extremity, than adopt without delay a wiſe " and conſiſtent rule of conduct. The vortices " of Deſcartes never exiſted any where but in " Poland. There every head is a vortex, turn- " ing continually round itſelf. It is ſtopped by " chance alone, and never by reaſon or judgment.

" I have not yet received either your queſ- " tions*, or your watches from Ferney. I

* The " Queſtions ſur l'Encyclopedie."

" have

" have no doubt that the work of your artificers " is perfect, ſince they work under your eyes.

" Do not ſcold your ruſtics for having ſent me " a ſurplus of watches: the expence of them " will not ruin me. It would be very unfor- " tunate for me, if I were ſo far reduced as not " to have, for ſudden emergencies, ſuch ſmall " ſums whenever I want them. Judge not, I " beſeech you, of our finances by thoſe of the " other ruined potentates of Europe. Though " we have been engaged in a war for three " years, we proceed in our buildings; and every " thing elſe goes on as in a time of profound " peace. It is two years ſince any new impoſt " has been levied *. The war at preſent has its " fixed eſtabliſhment; that once regulated, " it never diſturbs the courſe of other affairs. " If we capture another Keffa or two, the war " is paid for.

" I ſhall be ſatisfied with myſelf whenever I " meet with your approbation, monſieur. I " likewiſe a few weeks ago read over again my " inſtructions for the code, becauſe I then

* With all due deference for her imperial majeſty, this does not exactly tally with the augmentation of the capitation tax of 80 kopeeks, which ſhe was obliged to aboliſh at the peace; any more than with the extraordinary taxes laid on ſeveral manufactures, and on all works in iron.

" thought

" thought peace to be nearer at hand than it is,
" and I found that I was right in compoſing
" them. I confeſs that this code, for which
" a great quantity of materials are preparing,
" and many others are now ready, will yet give
" me a conſiderable deal of trouble before it is
" brought to that degree of perfection at which
" I wiſh to ſee it. But no matter: it muſt be
" completed, though Taganrok has the ſea to
" the ſouth and mountains to the north.

" However, your deſigns upon that place
" cannot be brought to effect till a peace ſhall
" have ſecured its environs againſt all apprehen-
" ſion on the ſide of the land and the ſide of the
" ſea; for till the Krimea was taken, it was the
" frontier place againſt the Tartars. Perhaps
" in a little time the khan of the Krimea will be
" brought to me in perſon. I learn this moment
" that he did not croſs the ſea with the Turks,
" but that he remained in the mountains with a
" very ſmall number of followers, nearly as was
" the caſe with the pretender in Scotland after
" the defeat at Culloden. If he comes to me,
" we will ſtrive to poliſh him this winter; and,
" to take my revenge of him, I will make him
" dance, and he ſhall go to the french co-
" medy.....

" Juſt as I was about to fold up this letter, I " received yours of the 10th of July, in which " you inform me of the adventure that happened " to my " Inſtruction"* in France. I knew " that anecdote, and even the appendix to it, in " conſequence of the order of the duc de Choi- " ſeul. I own that I laughed on reading it in " the news-papers, and I found that I was " amply revenged.

" The conflagration that happened at Peterſ- " burg has, according to the report of the police, " conſumed in all 140 houſes, among which " about 20 were brick buildings; the reſt were " only barracks conſtructed of wood. The " high wind wafted the flames and the burning " ſplinters on all ſides, which occaſioned the fire " to break out again the following day, and gave " it a ſupernatural appearance. But there is no " doubt that the high wind and the exceſſive heat " were the ſole cauſes of this diſaſter, which " will be ſoon repaired.

" With us buildings are raiſed with greater " celerity than in any other country in Europe. " In 1762 a fire happened of twice the extent, " which conſumed a large quarter of the town,

* Her majeſty's inſtruction for a code of laws.

" conſiſt-

" conſiſting of wooden buildings. The whole " was rebuilt in brick within leſs than three " years."

The ſucceſſes of the turkiſh war begot in the hearts of the nation an enthuſiaſtic love and veneration for their ſovereign; the ſentiments of joy at the humiliation of the oriental pride were univerſal; and it muſt be confeſſed that many truly heroic atchievements in theſe campaigns, both by ſea and land, might well excite the ruſſian patriots to jubilation. To perpetuate the memory of them, Catharine cauſed medals to be ſtruck, and columns to be erected *.

1774.

* On the 7th of September a magnificent repreſentation of the taking of the fortreſs of Giurgevo was exhibited before the empreſs and the whole court. The ſiege was conducted in the regular forms by the train of artillery, under the direction of the grand-maſter prince Orloff, aſſiſted by the préobaginſky regiment of guards. After a cannonade and bombardment of near two hours, during which time the regular approaches were made, the outworks of the fortreſs ſilenced, and a breach effected by the battering cannon, the ſoldiers were ſeen to mount to the aſſault, and the place ſurrendered. In the courſe of the ſiege ſeveral mines were ſprung, the magazines of powder in the place took fire, and no incident was omitted which could contribute to give the ſpectators a perfect idea of the manner in which ſuch an attack is carried on. Afterwards a magnificent firework was played off on a ſtage built on the river for that purpoſe, which concluded the

1774. Soon after the cloſe of the year, the grand ſignior Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks, departed this life at Conſtantinople *, in the 58th year of his age, and the 17th of a reign, which had, in its latter part, been the moſt unfortunate of any in the turkiſh annals from the time of Bajazet. His ſon, ſultan Selim, being then only entered into his 13th year, ſeemed too young to ſuſtain the reins of government in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs. The emperor accordingly, with a wiſdom and diſintereſtedneſs which does honour to his memory, appointed his brother Abdulhamet to ſucceed him in the throne. To this prince, under the ſtrongeſt terms of recommendation, he confided the care of his infant ſon: a truſt rendered ſacred by all the ties of gratitude; but precarious from the barbarous maxims of the ottoman family.

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entertainment of the day, at the whole of which the empreſs was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction. On the day following her imperial majeſty, attended by the court, went to aſſiſt at a ſolemn maſs at the church of the fortreſs of Peterſburg, and to offer up her prayers for the ſouls of thoſe killed in battle, according to annual cuſtom in time of war.

* January 21ſt.

It

It is a juſtice due to humanity to reſcue the character of the late emperor, from the oblivion or contempt which too generally attend misfortune. If he was not poſſeſſed of thoſe great, dazzling, and fatal qualities which excite the admiration of mankind, and in which, to their misfortune, too many of his anceſtors were ſuperiorly eminent, he was bleſſed in a great degree with thoſe happier ones, of humanity, juſtice, and benevolence. Numberleſs inſtances of theſe occurred during his reign, which would not have been omitted in an eulogium on the moſt exalted characters. His moderation and clemency with regard to his chriſtian ſubjects, notwithſtanding their avowed diſaffection, and the aſſiſtance they gave to a conquering enemy, when the very exiſtence of the empire was in queſtion, cannot be eaſily paralleled in the hiſtories of the moſt refined civilization, and under the influence of the pureſt religion. His laſt act with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, ſhewed a patriotiſm, which will be more admired than imitated, and a greatneſs of mind equal to the moſt renowned of his predeceſſors.

The new prince having taken the neceſſary meaſures for the preſervation of public order and tranquillity, which, in that empire, is always a matter of moment and difficulty upon ſuch

occaſions, ſeemed to turn his attention with great diligence to the carrying on of the war. Numerous levies were accordingly made, and an order being paſſed that all perſons who were guilty of tumults or diſorders ſhould be ſent to ſerve on board the fleet in the Black Sea, the terror of that puniſhment operated ſo ſtrongly on the profligate, as to produce a ſurpriſing effect in preſerving the peace of the metropolis. The emperor alſo iſſued a reſcript ſigned by himſelf, commanding the officers, governors of provinces, and military tenants, to act with the utmoſt diligence in their reſpective departments for the carrying on of the war, and thoſe whoſe immediate duty it was, to join the army forthwith, at the head of choſen bodies of the beſt troops they could procure, and to act with the utmoſt zeal and valour for the ſervice of the ſtate and religion, and the recovery of thoſe provinces which had been wreſted from the empire.

In the mean time there were ſome diſturbances at Adrianople, and other places where the army lay, through the mutiny of ſome of the janizaries, who were diſſatisfied with the acceſſion of Abdulhamet, and wanted to place the young prince Selim upon the throne. Though theſe commotions were eaſily quelled, it does not ſeem impoſſible, that the diſcontent which

which appeared upon this occaſion, might have ſome ſhare in the ſubſequent ill conduct of the army.

Several actions which took place on the Danube early in the ſpring, ſeemed to indicate a vigorous campaign. Detachments from the contending armies frequently croſſed that river, and theſe expeditions, though productive of no eſſential benefit, were attended with conſiderable loſs on both ſides.

In the mean time, the porte was not inattentive to the advantages which might be derived from Pugatſcheff's rebellion, and was accordingly indefatigable in exciting the various nations of Tartars, who ſurround or are intermixed with the ruſſian empire, to increaſe the internal diſturbances. It is not difficult to perſuade people who ſeem to be born for nothing but war, to take up arms. The Tartars, however, are not now in the condition which at different periods enabled them to conquer a great part of the world. That overgrown empire, which has ſprung up among them, has, by degrees, either ſwallowed up, broken, or ſeparated their different nations, in ſuch a manner as to render an union of arms or councils, or any general and formidable alliance, impracticable. Their being alſo cut off from the modern improvements in war,

arms, and diſcipline, is an inſuperable bar to their becoming again terrible.

They could, however, be troubleſome, and increaſe the confuſion already cauſed by Pugatſcheff. The porte accordingly ſent Doulet Gheray, the late khan of the Krimea, with a conſiderable ſum of money, and attended by ſeveral officers of his kindred and friends, among the nogais and kuban Tartars, where he was ſoon joined by above 10,000 men. This body was attacked and routed by a ruſſian detachment, before any effective junction of theſe nations could take place. As the Tartars ſtill dream of their ancient glory, and fancy themſelves, before trial, to be as invincible now as they were in the days of Tamerlane, they were ſo much ſurpriſed and diſpirited by this defeat, that no farther ſervice could be expected from them, and the tartar prince found matters ſo hopeleſs, that having divided his money among his friends and adherents, he quitted the country. Similar meaſures were purſued, and attended with ſimilar ſucceſs, among the Baſkirs, Kirgis, and ſome other tribes, all of whom were ready for inſurrection or war; but were unequal to the purpoſe.

A conſiderable armament was alſo prepared at Conſtantinople, for the ſupport of the Tartars,

tars, and their confederates the kozaks, and other inſurgents in the Krimea. In the mean time, ſuch diligence was uſed in reinforcing the grand army, that it became more numerous than it had been ſince the commencement of the war, and the grand vizir was ſaid not to have leſs than 200,000 combatants under his command on the Danube.

Nor was the court of Peterſburg leſs diligent to enable marſhal Romantzoff to open the campaign with vigour. Though the rebellion of Pugatſcheff ſeemed a conſiderable impediment, yet Ruſſia was now freed from ſome other material embarraſſments. The heavy clouds which hung on the ſide of Sweden were now diſperſed, and it was no longer neceſſary to keep an army on that frontier; while the Auſtrians and Pruſſians ſo effectually occupied Poland, and overawed the inhabitants, that the Ruſſians were freed from all apprehenſions in that country. Marſhal Romantzoff's army was accordingly rendered very formidable.

He reſolved again to croſs the Danube, and attack the Turks. The latter diſputed his paſſage with ſignal valour: but their efforts were ineffectual. General Soltikoff* was the firſt who reached the oppoſite ſhore. Souvaroff

* Since become field-marſhal.

and

and Kamenſkoï followed cloſe at his heels. The Turks were repulſed. Romantzoff was ſoon after encamped at the gates of Siliſtria.

Not many days after the Turks attacked Soltikoff. They were 25,000 ſtrong, and fought a long time with the greateſt intrepidity: but they were at length obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior ſkill and bravery of the Ruſſians.

The ſame day generals Kamenſkoï and Souvaroff gained an advantage over the reis effendi, who was at the head of 40,000 Turks, and took away with them his artillery.

All theſe diſaſters were greatly diſtreſſing to the Ottomans; as a ſpirit of inſubordination and revolt is uſually, with them, the conſequence of a defeat. The troops of the army of the grand vizir were either engaged in bloody conteſts among themſelves, or deſerting by whole detachments. That general was encamped at Shumala, where he was at a great diſtance from the other bodies of the turkiſh army. Romantzoff, who remarked the diſadvantage of that poſition, ſo opportunely ſurrounded the camp of the vizir, that he cut off his communication not only with the detached corps, but alſo with his magazines. The vizir, unable therefore to receive any ſuccours, or to retire,

tire, or to ſtand a battle, determined to ſue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries met accordingly at Kutſhuk-Kainardſhi, in Bulgaria. The Ruſſians perſiſted in the demands they had made at the laſt congreſs. The Turks agreed to them; and the preliminaries of the treaty were ſigned* by marſhal Romantzoff, and the kiaya of the grand vizir†. By this treaty Ruſſia obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, and in all the ottoman ſeas, together with the paſſage of the Dardanelles; on condition, however, that ſhe ſhould never have more than one armed veſſel in the ſeas of Conſtantinople. Retaining Azoff, Taganrok, Kertſch, and Kinburn, ſhe reſtored the reſt of her conqueſts. The independence of the Krimea‡ was one of the principal clauſes of the

* About the month of July.

† In order to avoid appearing again in the preſence of his conqueror, the haughty Muſſum-Oglou feigned a ſickneſs.

‡ The peninſula of the Krimea, or Krim, antiently called the Taurica Cherſoneſus, is ſurrounded on all ſides by the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, except where it is joined to the continent of the leſſer Tartary by a narrow iſthmus, ſomething leſs than five engliſh miles in breadth. This iſthmus has received its name from the antient city of Perekop, which is built at its entrance on the ſide of the

the treaty, and that which was moſt ſeverely felt by the Turks. Certainly they were very far from

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the peninſula, and has been celebrated for the ſtrong lines made for its defence by the Turks, which extend quite acroſs from the Euxine to the Palus Mæotis, and were the labour of 5000 men for a courſe of ſeveral years. The Tartars conſidered theſe lines as inexpugnable, until the famous count Munich convinced them of their error in the year 1736, when he forced them without much difficulty. This muſt however in a great meaſure be attributed to the badneſs of the defence, as the ditch was 72 feet broad, and 42 deep; the height from the bottom of the ditch to the creſt of the parapet was 70 feet, and the parapet of a proportional thickneſs. The lines were alſo, at that time, beſides the fortifications of the city, ſtrengthened with ſix towers mounted with cannon, and the whole was defended by an army. The peninſula lies between 33 and 37 degrees of eaſtern longitude, and between 44 and 46 degrees of northern latitude; is naturally fertile, and was, at firſt, under the government of the Greeks, and afterwards in the hands of the Genoeſe and other italian nations; a place of great trade, and filled with populous towns and cities. The Tartars of the Krim were a free people, governed by khans of their own election, acknowledging the grand ſultan as khalif: only in regard to religion, without any influence on the reſt of the government. Europe therefore ſaw in the liſt of her ſtates a new ſovereign prince, Sahin Gueray, a mohammedan, and a deſcendant of the mongole conqueror Tſchinghis khan. He reſided at Bachtſheſeray. Ruſſia would now no longer be neceſſitated to defend its borders, by the uſual expenſive lines, againſt theſe Tartars, or even to continue the old tribute-like preſents. On the contrary, ſhe was now become a friendly and

from perceiving the policy of Catharine in its full extent; but they ſeemed to foreſee that ſhe was only deſirous of obtaining the independence of the Krim, as thereby ſhe might be the better enabled to bring it into ſubjection. Beſides theſe conceſſions, Catharine obtained from the porte, that tract of land lying on the Euxine between the Bohg and the Dniepr, a large ſum of money to defray the expences of the war, and the title of padiſhah, or empreſs, to be no longer refuſed to the ruſſian monarch.

Catharine had thus the twofold advantage of increaſing her power and of weakening her enemy. The commerce of the Euxine and the mart of the Levant opened to her a ſource of immenſe riches. The protection which ſhe granted the Tartars, furniſhed her with the means of dividing them, and of conquering their country. The acquiſition of the poliſh Ukraine put her in a capacity of more eaſily carrying on a war in the regions of the Danube, of overawing

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and protecting neighbour, (juſt as ſhe was towards Poland,) and in order the more effectually to do this, ſhe altered the form of government, diſſolved the relationſhip between the Krim and the porte, and granted the Tartars the freedom of election, with ſeveral other privileges to the detriment of their khans.

the

the ottoman empire, and of completing the ruin of Poland. The eſtabliſhment of diſcipline among the kozaks added to her armies an excellent cavalry. The good underſtanding which ſhe kept up in the iſlands of the Archipelago, and in Valakhia and Moldavia, became a never-ceaſing ſource of diſquiet and annoyance to the Turks. In a word, the empreſs beheld her influence and her glory extending throughout Europe.

Nothing could exceed the joy and feſtivity which prevailed at Peterſburg upon the confirmation of this happy peace. The empreſs ordered that eight days ſhould be devoted to public feaſts and rejoicing; rewards were diſtributed as uſual, in the magnificent ſpirit of that court; and that even the wretched might partake of the public joy, the doors of the priſons were ſet open to all who were not charged with high treaſon. Even thoſe miſerable outcaſts of mankind, who languiſhed unknown and unpitied in the frozen wilds of Siberia, were thought of in this ſeaſon of benevolence; and an order was iſſued, that all thoſe who ſince the year 1746 had been condemned to that natural priſon (which, like the other world, admits of no eſcape) ſhould be releaſed.

But

But while the empreſs was in the enjoyment of a condition ſo proſperous without, deep and cruel wounds were conſuming the interior of her empire. Her finances were in a dilapidated ſtate. She received no ſuccours from England, but by granting immenſe advantages to their commerce. The peſtilence had made dreadful ravages at Moſco and in the adjacent countries. That horrible diſeaſe had long been devouring the ruſſian armies; and the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempted from its fury. The provinces of Kaſan, Aſtrakhan, and Orenburg, were a prey to revolt, which even threatened Moſco; and a remarkable emigration * changed countries that were flouriſhing with commerce into waſte and deſerted tracts. All theſe calamities at once explain to us likewiſe how it happened, that during the war againſt the Turks, the ruſſian forces did not every year diſplay equal activity, and were not attended with equal ſucceſs.

But this emigration is of conſequence ſufficient to detain us a while. The aſiatic territory of this enormous empire preſents far other ſcenes

* This emigration took place towards the cloſe of 1770 and the beginning of 1771. Yet the mention of it was deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the account of the progreſs of the war.

than

than thoſe which the inhabitants of Europe are accuſtomed to ſurvey; and as Ruſſia in a manner connects both quarters of the world in the completeſt contraſt, ſo we behold it one while as a political exemplar of civilized human nature, but at other times involved in ſituations which appear quite ſtrange to us, and ſuch as we only know from the hiſtory of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, in the year 1771, an emigration took place, by which a very conſiderable number of ſubjects were loſt to the empire.—Of the Kalmuks or Œlœts *, brethren of like race with the Mongoles, ſeveral branches are in ſubjection to the ruſſian empire. Their original abode, if we may uſe ſuch an expreſſion in ſpeaking of nomadic hordes, is the Kalmuckia: lying weſtward toward the proper Mongolia, and in the north and eaſt of the leſſer Bukharia. At the latter end of the laſt century, two tribes of them, the Torgot and Derbet, drew up in the ſteppe on the Volga above Aſtrakhan. Till very modern times, they remained however only as protected neighbours, and were tolerably independent on the government. But in 1757 the vice-khan Dondudidaſchi, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of all the khans to receive

* Improperly, Eleuts.

their appointment from the dalailama in Tibet, thought fit, though they are of the lama religion, to apply to Ruſſia for the nomination of his ſon as his ſucceſſor. At Peterſburg the requeſt was granted with great ſatisfaction, which perhaps would not have been the caſe on an application to Tibet: the father was conſtituted actual khan; and the ſon, only 13 years old, without heſitation declared ſucceſſor, with an allowance of 500 rubles *per ann.* and inſtalled with the uſual ſolemnities. On the death of the father in 1761, Ruſſia thought ſhe had a right to meddle in the affairs of the young ſovereign: inſtead of the accuſtomed council of eight ſaiſſans, it was made to conſiſt of a larger number, whom the court eaſily retained by paying each of the members a ſalary of 100 rubles. The friendly protection was thus (as has happened in various other caſes) changed into an actual ſovereignty. In conſequence of freſh regulations, the khan loſt his former unlimited authority, and became nothing more than the preſident of his council; nor had he any longer the right to diſmiſs this council; he could only complain to the imperial college of Ruſſia; and he was taught to eſteem it advantage enough that the ſovereign tribunal ſtood open to his appeal. In all other reſpects theſe Kalmuks retained their religion and their man-

ners: they roamed about the ſteppe, had an averſion to permanent dwellings, and lived on the produce of their flocks and herds. Theſe conſiſted in ſheep, camels, and principally in horſes; the whole nation was armed and mounted; and their favourite drink, like that of all theſe tartar tribes, was a ſpirituous extract of mares milk, called in their language kounniſh *.

* The ordinary drink, thus called, is prepared in the following manner: taking a given quantity of mare's milk of one day, they add to it a ſixth part of water, an eighth part of the ſoureſt cow's milk that can be procured, but at any time afterwards a ſmaller portion of old kumiſh will better anſwer the purpoſe of acidulating; they then cover the veſſel with a thick cloth, and ſet it in a place moderately warm; here they leave it to reſt for four-and-twenty hours, at the end of which period the milk will have got ſour, and a thick ſcum will be formed on the ſurface. They now beat it with a ſtick reſembling at the lower end a churnſtaff, till the forementioned ſcum be entirely blended with the ſubjacent fluid; which done, it is ſet to remain twenty-four hours in a tall veſſel ſhaped like a churn. The beating is now repeated till the liquor appears to be thoroughly homogeneous, and in this ſtate it is called kumiſs, the proper taſte whereof is an agreeable mixture of ſweet and acid. Whenever it is wanted for uſe, it is firſt ſhaken. Being duly prepared in tight veſſels, and put in a cold place, it will keep three months and upwards without detriment to its quality.—It ſerves both for meat and drink; is an excellent ſtomachic, and a remedy for diſorders of the nervous ſyſtem, of the breaſt, &c. The Tartars alſo make a diſtillation of this fermented milk, by which proceſs they obtain a ſpirituous liquor, ſupplying to them the place of brandy.

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The paſture of theſe horſes requires this roving life; as a father of a family may poſſeſs from 100 to 1000, and ſome of them even 4000 heads. Many of them were in good circumſtances, and very reſpectable people; kind, generous, and hoſpitable: this laſt quality they poſſeſs in an eminent degree, and ſhew it to every one who peaceably enters their tents. But they are quite the reverſe to ſuch as attack them as foes, eſpecially to nations whom they acknowledge not as brothers. Accordingly, Ruſſia employed them in hoſts in the pruſſian war; and Germany ſtill recollects with horror the aſiatic ſavages that were let looſe upon her without regard to morals and the rights of humanity. In the turkiſh war they likewiſe fought for Ruſſia in the diſtrict of the Kuban. Such was the ſituation of them till the year 1779.

In the mean time great heart-burnings had long ſubſiſted among the moſt conſiderable of them on account of the innovations introduced by the Ruſſians. The circumſcription of their primitive liberty, the reducing their khan to a ſtate of dependence, the intermeddling of a foreign nation in their conſtitution and laws, which begot diſſenſions and diſobedience in the horde, the injuries (real or imaginary) which

ſome princes had received from ruſſian officers: all this awakened an irreſiſtible hankering after their former condition; and as it was not to be hoped for where they were, no choice was left, but they muſt ſeek it in their ancient plains where their anceſtors knew of no Europeans. Juſt at this time the governor of Aſtrakhan appointed a lieutenant named Kiſchenſkoï, as inſpector of theſe peaceful Kalmuks. Kiſchenſkoï, a man of inſatiable rapacity, by inſenſible degrees got poſſeſſion of a great part of their cattle, and ſold them to his own benefit. His exactions ſoon procured him an immenſe fortune. But his avarice, far from diminiſhing, ſeemed rather to increaſe with the means of its gratification.

One of their princes, a venerable old man, who had ſhed his blood in the ſervice of Ruſſia, in recompence for which the empreſs had given him her miniature portrait ſet round with brilliants, and which he wore ſuſpended to his neck, was one day applied to by Kiſchenſkoï for ſome preſents in addition to thoſe which he had already given him. The old man, irritated at his inſolence, could not refrain from breaking out into reproaches on his injuſtice and the vexations he employed to the ruin of the unhappy Kalmuks. Kiſchenſkoï, offended at the truth of theſe reproaches, had the temerity to ſtrike him on the

the face, and having at the ſame time ordered one of the ſaiſſans, the miniſter of the khan who interpoſed in his behalf, to be ſeized by his ſoldiers, ordered him the puniſhment of the battogues *.

The Kalmuks had, if not patiently, at leaſt quietly, ſuffered the rapacity and peculations of the ruſſian officer; but they could not endure the inſult that had been put upon this venerable old man, who ſtood in great reſpect among them. The prieſts and the elders of the horde having held a conſultation, reſolved to abandon the territory of the ruſſian empire, and retire to the foot of the mountains of Tibet, the country of their progenitors. The common people were eaſily perſuaded; eſpecially as they were told that the ruſſian regulations were introduced for no other purpoſe than to compel them to the three things which they moſt abhorred: chriſt-

* Battogues—a ſort of puniſhment uſed in Ruſſia for inferior offences. The ſufferer is laid on his face upon the ground, ſtripped to his waiſt, and the arms and legs extended. Two men, one of whom ſits on his neck, and the other on his legs, beat him alternately on the back with the battogues. which are rods of the thickneſs of the little finger. Perſons having any authority over others may inflict this puniſhment upon them without any form of trial or legal proceſs. Nobles and peaſants are equally liable to it, when it is ordered by ſuperiors.

ianity, agriculture, and the raiſing recruits. A little prieſtcraft was alſo had recourſe to on this occaſion. The noyons or princes ſet up a lama, whom they raiſed in a moment to be the immortal archprieſt or dalailama, in the following manner: It was propagated abroad, that a famous kalmuk prieſt, who had died three years before, had now appeared again alive, and had iſſued a proclamation to the people, that he was riſen from the dead at Tibet, in the reſidence of the great dalailama; of all which a written teſtimony was brought from the immortal high prieſt; in which it was declared, that being now become a being of a ſuperior order, he foreknew the fates and fortunes of the nation, and required them, in the name of their gods, to return, and again take poſſeſſion of their ancient territory. This happened towards the cloſe of the year 1770, juſt when they thought it the proper moment for the grand rupture; otherwiſe they would have ſuffered the lama to have ſlept quietly in his grave for a longer or a ſhorter time.

It was an unpardonable neglect in the commanding officer in thoſe parts not to put a ſtop to the proceedings of the horde, ſo as to prevent the emigration, as their intention was publicly known in thoſe parts. He even ſuffered himſelf

to

to be duped by the Kalmuks, to whom, on their forging ſome pretext of apprehenſion from the Kirguiſes, their neighbours, he gave two pieces of cannon, with ammunition and ſome engineers. Accordingly, in the autumn, they began their march: a prodigious troop, with wives, children, and ſervants, having their droves, horſes, flocks, goods, huts, and tents. The captain under the command of the khan was forced to migrate with them at the head of his kozaks. The march was conducted regularly enough, in three troops, who conſtantly kept in ſight; the flanks of each were particularly covered, and beſides this they had a van and a rear guard. At the beginning they plundered the fiſheries and the trading houſes on the borders of the Volga and the Caſpian. But, on their progreſs into the ſouthern Siberia, they came upon the kozaks of the Yaïk, who ſtopped and purſued the flying horde, cut thouſands of them to pieces, and forced thouſands to return. In the ſpring 1771, they were attacked by the Kirguiſes their inveterate enemies, and, after a bloody engagement, took many of them priſoners. In the ſummer they proceeded through the antient Mongolia to the chineſe borders; where an army of the Mandſhu * received them, and afforded them protection.

* The preſent emperor of China.

The ſecret of their flight was ſo well kept, that it was not known to the Ruſſians till two days after their departure. Three regiments were ſent in purſuit of them to no purpoſe. The Kalmuks were more in haſte than they; and, beſides, they were two days before them. Theſe regiments wandered a long time in the deſerts, and a conſiderable part of the ſoldiers periſhed.

When the news of the emigration was brought to St. Peterſburg, a corps of troops were ordered by the court to go in queſt of them. But, if the former purſuits were too late, it was not likely that theſe ſhould come up with them: the lamentable particulars of this expedition may be read in captain Rytſchkoff's journal; where it may be ſeen what difficulties and hardſhips theſe indefatigable purſuers of the fugitive horde encountered, in their devious marches on this unavailing expedition, and what variety of diſtreſſes they ſuffered in the dreary, inhoſpitable regions and waterleſs deſerts through which they paſſed. At length nothing farther was to be done but to make application by a written memorial to China, to demand the reſtitution of the runaways. But the ſupreme tribunal of Pekin anſwered the reſcript of the ruſſian ſenate abruptly, in a ſcornful and deriſory manner, and concluded

concluded by ſaying, that "their ſovereign "was not a prince ſo unjuſt as to deliver up his "ſubjects to foreigners, nor ſo cruel a father as "to drive away children who returned to the "boſom of their family. That he had no inti-"mation of the deſign of the Kalmuks till the "moment of their arrival; and that then with-"out delay he cauſed to be reſtored to them the "habitations that had belonged to them from "time immemorial. That, in ſhort, the empreſs "had no reaſon to complain of the Kalmuks, "but certainly of the officer who had dared to "liſt his hand againſt a ſervant of the khans, "and to order their miniſters to undergo the "battogues." The letter was thus ſubſcribed: "In the 36th year, the 7th month, and the 13th "day of the reign of Kien-Long." On various occaſions Catharine frequently received from theſe her neighbours anſwers in a ſtyle which muſt have ſtruck her the more ſenſibly, as ſhe was accuſtomed to hear from all the other monarchs in the world a very different language. On her applying for a freſh treaty for the renewal of the commerce with China by the caravans, which for ſeveral years had been interrupted, on account of ſome differences that had ariſen between the ſubjects of the two potentates, the anſwer given to her envoy was:—"Let your miſtreſs learn to

" keep old treaties; and then it will be time " enough to apply for new ones." Accordingly we ſee, from her private communications* how ſenſible ſhe was upon this ſubject; and ſhe could ſcarcely endure to hear any praiſe, even jeſtingly, beſtowed on the emperor of China, who was otherwiſe known as an author and poet.

Concerning the number of perſons loſt to Ruſſia by this emigration accounts do not agree. Some ſtate it at 130,000 families; which is certainly exaggerated. More accurate ſtatements ſay, that the horde in general conſiſted of not much above 70,000 tents, or hearths, of families. Thoſe who voluntarily returned, (for doubtleſs many of them, on the fatiguing and painful expedition over the deſerts, panted after the more quiet abode on the Volga, and turned back,) and thoſe who were brought in by the kozaks, are reckoned together at 12,342 tents. Thoſe that eſcaped therefore, eſtimating them at the higheſt, were 60,000 hearths. But how great the number of the individuals that died upon the road, and of thoſe who were carried into captivity by the Kirguiſes, can never be known.

* For example, in her correſpondence with Voltaire.

A council

A council of war was held to examine into the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Kiſchenſkoï, and to pronounce upon it. But the buſineſs was conducted with negligence and every poſſible delay. Kiſchenſkoï employed a part of the fruit of his rapine in procuring himſelf friends at court, or in corrupting his judges: and to the great ſcandal of the majority of the Ruſſians, this man, who had occaſioned the loſs of ſuch a number of ſubjects to the country, was recompenſed by the title of colonel.

Amidſt the grand concerns by which it was occupied, the court of Peterſburg betrayed no neglect of its little intrigues. Attentive as ſhe was to the buſineſs of government, Catharine did not bid adieu to pleaſures. She went frequently from the council to the ball-room and the theatre, and from the important ſittings of the ſenate to the moſt frivolous amuſements. She gave audience to the ambaſſadors of foreign powers, without having need of any other dreſs than that ſhe wore for receiving her courtiers; and ſhe dictated a law with the ſame facility as ſhe wrote a billet. Eaſy in her new attachments, ſhe never ſpoke of thoſe that had gone before. Panin, Chernicheff, and Baratinſky applauded their own operations.

But

But what gave them the moſt ſatisfaction was the removal of prince Orloff. For nearly five months he had been travelling in foreign parts; and his enemies pleaſed themſelves with the thought that he was to continue his travels for at leaſt two years. The emiſſaries who watched his ſteps wrote them frequent accounts of his proceedings. He was thought to be in Holland: it was imagined that he intended to make the tour of England, France, and Italy. All at once he re-appeared at the court of Peterſburg. The empreſs refuſed to admit him into her preſence. She ſent orders to him to repair to Reval. But ſhe at the ſame time ſent him conſiderable preſents, and loaded with honours and careſſes the more intimate friends of her diſcarded favourite.

What then could be the motive to ſuch a ſingular conduct? Catharine had no longer any regard for Orloff. She no longer ſtood in awe of him. But ſhe dreaded, ſhe hated a faction ſhe conceived might be forming under the auſpices of a name* dear to the empire, and formidable to Orloff. She was deſirous of oppoſing the party of her former favourite to this faction, and of procuring the ſupport of a

* That of the grand duke.

man

man by whom ſhe had already been ſo well defended. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, that princeſs was nevertheleſs often a prey to the moſt pungent diſquietudes: but ſhe concealed them. She dreaded the thought of being hurled from the throne; and ſhe was forming the project of aggrandizing her dominions ſtill farther. She was trembling for her life: and ſhe diſcourſed with gaiety of the long career ſhe was in hopes to run. One day ſhe found a paper in her cabinet, in which mention was made of a threatened aſſaſſination: never did ſhe ſhew herſelf more confident and more ſedate.

Ambitious of all kinds of glory, ſhe could at all times put any conſtraint on herſelf to obtain it. Whatever were her ſentiments, ſhe had always the appearance of gentleneſs, ſincerity, clemency, and generoſity. The blood of the wretched Ivan was yet reeking from the ground: Catharine was moved at the unhappy lot of his family; and knowing that ſhe had no longer any thing to fear from the duke, ſhe offered him his liberty, with the means of retiring to Germany. The prince refuſed. "Why ſhould "I go," anſwered he, "out of the ruſſian em-

"pire,

" pire, to publiſh the exceſs of my miſeries, " and to excite a fruitleſs compaſſion*?"

Vaſſiltſchikoff had now a long time filled the place of favourite. Never abuſing his influence either for accumulating immenſe riches to himſelf, or for hurting his rivals, he excited no envy. The empreſs would frequently praiſe his moderation; and that quality, ſo uncommon in a courtier, ſeemed to render him more dear to her from day to day. But on a ſudden he had loſt the art of pleaſing; and at the very inſtant when he had juſt been receiving additional tokens of her tenderneſs, an order was brought him to repair to Moſco. He obeyed. Freſh preſents from the ſovereign attended him on the road. But it was only a remuneration of form: the heart had no ſhare in it†.

Whether it was that Orloff had been ſecretly recalled from Reval, or whether he found his

* The account of the farther circumſtances that attended this family will be found very near the concluſion of the preceding volume, where the part of the hiſtory concerning them was ſomewhat anticipated, for the ſake of keeping the individuals of the family together in one view.

† Vaſſiltſchikoff continued in favour 22 months. It will hereafter be mentioned to what the preſents amounted which Catharine made to him as well as to her other favourites.

ſtay

ſtay in that city inſupportable, he now came back, and made his appearance at court. The empreſs threw no cenſures on his behaviour. She received him, on the contrary, with an appearance of joy. Proud of this reception and of the remembrance of his paſt favour, depending ſtill on the ſubmiſſion of his creatures, who were in great numbers, he thought himſelf able to reſume his honours and his influence. While he was in the full enjoyment of them, he often ſeemed to diſdain them. No ſooner was he deprived of them than he felt them to be neceſſary to him. Orloff, born in obſcurity, and brought up in the licentiouſneſs of the barracks, had found himſelf raiſed on a ſudden to a point of elevation, which, by ſwelling his natural pride, had neither altered his taſte, nor poliſhed his manners. Eleven years paſſed about the perſon of the empreſs, in the refinements of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, withheld him not from braving the inclemency of the ſeaſons, nor from expoſing himſelf to the ſevereſt fatigues, nor from the purſuit of the coarſeſt indulgences. Since his diſmiſſal from the poſt of favourite, he remained in poſſeſſion of an annual revenue of 250,000 rubles, and of valuables to the amount of 300,000; inſtead of maintaining a houſehold with grandeur and magnificence, he led the life

of

of an officer in garriſon. In a condition to keep a table delicately ſerved and ſupplied, he ate almoſt always with the commenſals of the court, who kept very ordinary cheer. He was not more choice in his amours. It was indifferent to him, whether he breathed out his flame to an ugly and ſqualid Finn, to a ſavage Kalmuk, or to the handſomeſt woman of Peterſburg.

Jealous of the authority enjoyed by his rivals, and contemplating with envy the throne on which he had long flattered himſelf with the expectation of ſitting, Orloff demanded to be re-eſtabliſhed in the exerciſe of his functions, and that he whom he accuſed of being the prime mover of his diſgrace, count Panin, ſhould be ſent into exile. Orloff ſeemed at that moment to have regained his aſcendant over the heart of Catharine. She appeared in his ſight with all the fondneſs that the tendereſt paſſion could inſpire, and made not the leaſt heſitation in reſtoring him to all his employments. Her majeſty, however, refuſed to conſent to the baniſhment of Panin; and the prince was obliged to be ſatisfied with obtaining her promiſe to remove him from court, as ſoon as the grand duke ſhould be married.

Panin was deeply chagrined at ſeeing Orloff reinſtated in his employments. But he had no

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one to blame for it but himſelf, ſince he had taken no meaſures to prevent it. Happy in the fortune and the conſequence which he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midſt of affairs, and ſeeking a retreat in the tumult of the court, it was only in ſudden fits of reſentment that he took any pains to injure his rivals; and, though of greater ability than they, he had often the mortification to ſee them victorious.

"Count Panin is a good creature," ſaid a courtier who had long ſtudied his character. "He is fond of nothing but eaſe and ſullenneſs. "Any one may be his friend by pretending to "laugh at his bons mots, and by furniſhing him "with an opportunity for exerciſing his talent for "ſlander. He himſelf, on ſuch occaſions, will "laugh with all his heart; and he forgets the "affairs of government, the diſpatches, the cou-"riers, and the intrigues that are formed againſt "him."

In the mean time the buildings and embelliſhments of St. Peterſburg proceeded without interruption; and works of really imperial magnificence were brought to effect, which render that city in many reſpects ſuperior to any other. The Neva, the Fontanka, and the Katarina-

canal*, were embanked with granite; and provided with ſpacious quays of the ſame material, and elegant balluſtrades of iron, ſo as to form agreeable walks through the ſeveral quarters of the town. Sumptuous bridges richly ornamented, of hewn granite, were likewiſe conſtructed in various parts acroſs the Moika, the Fontanka, and the ſeveral canals that unite their ſtreams. Palaces and public offices were erected; among them a palace of prodigious magnitude, built entirely of marble of divers colours from Siberia†. If the eye of the ſtranger, dazzled with ſo much brilliance and ſplendour as this reſidence affords, ſees with concern and almoſt with diſguſt, the intervals of wretched huts and dirty lanes; yet the inhabitant recollecting with real ſatisfaction the former condition of moſt of the quarters and

* The beautiful ſtream that forms the Neva, branches off into the little Neva, the Nefka, the river Moika, the river Fontanka, into all which fall ſeveral canals, all together forming the large and little iſlands (oſtrofs) on which Peterſburg is built.

† The magnificence of this palace is ſuch, that it never fails to remind the beholder who ſees it for the firſt time, of what he has read in the "Arabian Nights," fairy and genii tales, and the like. The emperor Paul has aſſigned it for the reſidence of the king of Poland, by whom it is now inhabited.

ſtreets,

ſtreets, feels the more ſenſibly the almoſt magical improvements, and looks forward with complacency at what the whole muſt gradually become. Of the immenſe Ladoga-canal, the banks that were ſupported by timbers are, ſince 1763, faced with ſtone. The many beneficent and public-ſpirited inſtitutions of the empreſs required new buildings, which were conſtantly erected with magnificence and taſte. Nor were her cares confined to the reſidence alone, other cities were likewiſe growing in riches and ſplendour under her forming hand; Moſko, Tver, Toula, Kief, &c. In the neighbourhood of St. Peterſburg aroſe and grew up in 1767, and is ſince in a flouriſhing ſtate, the german colony Saratofka.

In the midſt of the turkiſh war, Catharine purchaſed in Holland pictures to the amount of 60,000 rubles*; in France for 15,000 rubles, and in Italy a multitude of inimitable curioſities. —That noble act of bounty which ſhe ſhewed to Diderot in 1775, gained her the eſteem of all literary men, in buying his library at a price far above its value, and then appointing him her librarian of it for his life, with a large annual ſtipend.

* The ſhip which had them on board was wrecked on the coaſt of Finland, and the whole collection was loſt.

The expenditure on her court-eſtabliſhment at this time was reckoned at 4,000,000 of rubles annually; the numerous and always imperial preſents to her officers, ſtateſmen, and favourites, not included. Her court, the moſt brilliant in all Europe, was the reſort of male and female beauty; young perſons of talents, grey-headed commanders, able politicians, reſpectable matrons, and a multitude of high nobility, who, by their friendlineſs, affability, hoſpitality, and poliſhed manners, rendered their ſociety extremely agreeable.—Prince Gregory Orloff was no niggard of his wealth. He cauſed to be built, at the diſtance of eight or ten miles from Tzarſko-ſelo, the magnificent palace of Gatſhina; which the empreſs, on his death, purchaſed at a very high price, and made it a preſent to her ſon the grand duke; who, as is well known, always reſided there, and was fond of the place*. About 1774, when Orloff was out of favour, ſome people imagined it was for having preferred his private intereſt to the good of the ſtate: it certainly was not the caſe in that

* In 1780 the grand duke built a palace for himſelf at the diſtance of five verſts from Tzarſko-ſelo, which he named Pavlofsk, and furniſhed it with greater taſte than magnificence. However he ſtill retained his liking for Gatſhina.

inſtance;

inſtance; but it is no leſs true, that ſhe made it a conſtant rule to employ no miniſter of that deſcription. She knew how and when to reward without being ſummoned to it; and never would ſuffer herſelf to be governed by perſonal regards. Even in Orloff's golden days, when he was in the higheſt favour, his influence in ſtate affairs was far from deciſive: Panin oppoſed him; and held his place in defiance of him. Other favourites were of ſtill leſs ſignificance. If afterwards Potemkin, for a continuance of 30 years, could do every thing with Catharine, and at laſt raiſed himſelf to an all-directing ſtateſman; yet it cannot be denied that he had the head, and the courage and energy, which, with the gradual unfolding of his talents as he advanced, fitted him for a prime miniſter: though withal, his ambition and love of command were of the rudeſt and moſt dangerous nature.—The princeſs Daſhkoff was not of Orloff's party, but belonged rather to Panin's; after a long abſence in a kind of ſolitude ſhe appeared again at court in 1773, received from the empreſs a preſent of 60,000 rubles, with ſubſequent marks of her favour and the poſt of director of the academy of ſciences. Count Panin filled unitedly the moſt important places with the empreſs and the tzar-

evitch*; and nothing can be ſaid more to his honour than that he gained the eſteem and affection of them both. The whole public alſo aſcribed to him perfect integrity in conjunction with a too great love of eaſe. He directed the foreign affairs, and his voice in the council was of very great weight. As preceptor of the grand duke he was beloved by that prince with a truly filial affection. Few princely families can ſhew an inſtance of greater tenderneſs of heart than one which we know of Paul Petrovitch: in count Panin's laſt illneſs the tears of the imperial youth inceſſantly flowed as he knelt by his bed-ſide, and gratefully kiſſed the hand of his dying maſter. After his death the ſincerity of the prince's grief was manifeſt to the few who then had acceſs to him.

An impartial obſerver who ſaw the empreſs in 1772 and 1773, deſcribes her in the following manner: "She is of that ſtature which is neceſſarily requiſite to perfect elegance of form in a lady. She has fine large blue eyes; her eyebrows and hair are of a browniſh colour; her mouth is well-proportioned, the chin round, the noſe rather

* Literally the tzar's ſon; the imperial ſucceſſor. Formerly this was the only ſtyle of the heir apparent. So lately as the time of Peter the great, his ſon was always called tzarevitch.

long;

long; the forehead regular and open, her hands and arms round and white, her complection not entirely clear, and her ſhape rather plump than meagre; her neck and boſom high, and ſhe bears her head with peculiar grace and dignity. She lays on, as is univerſally the cuſtom with the fair ſex in Ruſſia, a pretty ſtrong rouge. She has adopted the uſual habit of the ruſſian ladies as the model of her dreſs, which, by ſome ſlight alterations in it, ſhe has ſo improved, that it is not only very becoming, but may very properly be deemed an elegant mode of attire. She never puts on rich clothes except on ſolemn feſtivals; when her head and corſet are entirely ſet with brilliants: in grand proceſſions ſhe wears a crown of diamonds and precious ſtones.—Her gait is majeſtic; in the whole of her form and manner there is ſomething ſo dignified and noble, that if ſhe were to be ſeen, without ornament or any outward marks of diſtinction, among a great number of ladies of rank, ſhe would be immediately eſteemed the chief. There is withal in the features of her face and in her looks an uncommon degree of authority and command. In her character there is more of livelineſs than gravity. She is courteous, gentle, beneficent; outwardly devout.

"Her ordinary method of life, in which ſhe has almoſt always perſevered, was, at that time, this: About ſix o'clock in the morning the empreſs uſually riſes. Frequently, and even in the depth of winter, (nay, in the latter years of her life almoſt commonly,) earlier. She uſes, without calling any one, to prepare her own breakfaſt; as in general ſhe is not fond of being much waited on, and accordingly diſpenſes with all attendance on her perſon as much as poſſible. The buſineſs of her toilet laſts not long; during which ſhe ſigns commiſſions, orders, and papers of various purport. On days when the council does not meet in her apartments, ſhe is buſied alone in the cabinet from eight till eleven of the forenoon; ſhe then uſually goes to chapel, where the ſervice continues till twelve. From this time till one, ſome of the miniſters of the ſeveral departments have acceſs to her. After the table is removed, to which ſhe ſits down at lateſt at about half after one, ſhe goes to work again for an hour or two, according as buſineſs may require; ſhe then walks, rides on horſeback, or goes out in a coach or ſledge; and at ſix her majeſty appears at the play-houſe, where the performances are alternately in french and ruſſian. If the empreſs takes her ſupper in public, (which happens extremely

tremely ſeldom,) it never continues later than half after ten; at other times ſhe retires at ten.

"The only court-day in the whole week, holidays excepted, is ſunday. On this day in the morning, as the empreſs paſſes from chapel to her apartments, ſhe gives the ambaſſadors and foreigners of rank who have been once preſented, her hand to kiſs; likewiſe ſuch perſons as have any petition to preſent or deſire to return thanks for bounties received, are preſented on this day to the empreſs, and kiſs her hand, dropping on one knee.—The court begins not till ſix o'clock in the evening. At the ſame time a ball or concert is uſually given: the empreſs never dances, but ſits down immediately to cards, having previouſly told the chamberlain in waiting whom ſhe will have of her party. In autumn 1772, it was commonly the auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters, and of her own miniſters count Razumoffsky, prince Gallitzin, and the two counts Chernicheff. The empreſs plays at piquet, or ſome other game at which ſhe is not obliged to be conſtantly ſilent. A ſemicircle is formed round her card-table, which the ladies begin on the left hand, and the privy-counſellors cloſe on the right. When the empreſs has finiſhed her game, ſhe gets up and talks indiſcriminately with the ladies, generals, and

miniſters that form the circle. At about ten o'clock, and often earlier, ſhe breaks up her party, and then retires unobſerved through a ſide-door. What has been here mentioned, relates only to the winter months, when the court is at St. Peterſburg. While the empreſs is at Tzarſko-ſelo there is no court held except on extraordinary feſtivals.

"Of civil proceſſes, criminal and conſiſtorial cauſes, the empreſs allows nothing to be referred to her in the hours of the forenoon allotted to confer with the miniſter. Yet no perſon can be condemned to death without previous information delivered to her: this puniſhment is almoſt always commuted or mitigated. But all matters relating to the army, the navy, the finances, to foreign affairs, the taxes, and public buildings, muſt be reported to her by the chiefs of the ſeveral departments.—Every one knows that the empreſs is made acquainted with whatever concerns the adminiſtration of government, and acts from herſelf in all ſtate affairs.—As ſhe never interferes in private matters and the family concerns of her houſehold, ſhe has always time enough for buſineſs of a public nature; eſpecially as ſhe regularly and uniformly apportions the hours of her day to the accurate interchange of writing, converſation, exerciſe, and company.

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In conſtitution ſhe is healthy and robuſt; her mind is tranquil, cheerful, and always diſpoſed to buſineſs."

In order to introduce the practice of inoculation into the remoter parts of her empire, Catharine inſtituted hoſpitals for that purpoſe in various places, even to the extremities of Aſia, where the practice is carried on with ſucceſs not only in cities and towns, but even among the nation of the ſteppes.

CHAP. VIII.

Diſcontents in divers parts of the empire.—Cauſes that determine ſeveral impoſtors to aſſume the name of Peter III.—Rebellion of Pugatſheff.—His ſucceſſes.—His reverſe of fortune.—His execution.—1774, 1775.

THE uniform proſperity of the empreſs ſeemed for a moment to have reached its term. A terrible ſtorm was gathering in the remoteſt provinces of the empire; the ſky of its horizon darkened; the black clouds came on; the thunder growled; the tempeſt threatened to overturn

overturn the throne of Catharine. Some parts of the conduct of that princeſs had excited great diſcontents in a conſiderable number of her ſubjects. Several of the antient nobility took offence at the caprices and arrogant airs of her favourites; while the clergy burnt with the deſire of revenge for the loſs of their privileges, and the people murmured at the vexations without number to which they were expoſed. The boors, in ſhort, were almoſt become deſperate at ſeeing their children ſucceſſively raviſhed from their families for furniſhing recruits to the armies which the ſword of the Turks, and the horrible plague, were inceſſantly mowing down on the banks of the Danube. The kozaks of the Don gave the firſt ſignal of revolt. They had at their head a man, who, knowing their credulity, and ſeeing the ſpirit of diſcontent that was ſpread among them, quickly ſucceeded in cauſing ſeveral provinces to riſe, and who, if he had been maſter of more art in taking advantage of his ſucceſſes, would undoubtedly have given a different turn to the fate of Ruſſia.

But it ſhould firſt be explained what it was that determined this man to take upon him the bold part he played. The popes could not forgive Catharine for not reſtoring to them their poſſeſſions. They had recourſe, therefore, to impoſture,

impoſture, as one of the moſt ſure and eaſy means of revenge; having learned, from the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of all ages and nations, how ſeldom it fails of ſucceſs. They privately ſpread abroad the report that Peter III. was not dead; and that he would ſoon make his appearance to reclaim his throne of the empreſs.

A falſe Peter III. had indeed preſented himſelf in the province of Voronetch *; but he was taken, declared to be an impoſtor, and puniſhed with death.

Some years after †, a deſerter from the regiment of Orloff, named Chernicheff, appeared in the village of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Krimea, and alſo gave out that he was the emperor ſuppoſed to be dead. The popes procured him a great number of partiſans; and they were preparing to crown him in a church, when a colonel of the ruſſian troops, who had been informed that Chernicheff was inciting the people to a revolt, came and ſeized on him, and inſtantly cauſed his head to be ſtruck off.

At the beginning of the naval war in the Archipelago, the Montenegrins made head againſt the Turks, refuſed to pay the uſual

* He was a ſhoemaker of Voronetch, and appeared in 1767.

† In 1770.

tribute,

tribute, and drove the collectors out of their district. To this they were incited by a foreigner, most probably an Illyrian, named Stefano Piccolo, who in the seven-years war had served among the austrian irregular troops, and afterwards could find no inclination to peace and tranquillity. Count Orloff, in 1769, took advantage of his situation in those parts, and sent to him prince Michael Dolgorouky; but he would not be persuaded to agree to the proposals of these commanders, felt himself rather uneasy too under the russian guard that had been set over him, and found means, by one artifice or another, to circulate the report that he was really the dethroned emperor, Peter III. The enthusiasm inspired by the russian name among the Greeks of those provinces, led them easily to believe that what he pretended was true. Some of their bishops warmly encouraged the enthusiasm; and this stratagem occasioned an insurrection among the people. But it was not long before the janissaries obliged the Illyrian to take to flight: more fortunate than the other false Peters, he escaped the scaffold.

A fourth impostor appeared afterwards in the government of Ousa. By birth a vassal on an estate belonging to the family of Vorontzoff, he fled among the kozaks, and followed a detachment

ment which went, at the beginning of 1772, to join the ruſſian army. On coming up to one of the ſtations in the deſert between the Don and the Volga, he aſſembled his comrades, and aſſured them that he was Peter III. This ſtupid and barbarous crew believed him, acknowledged him as emperor, and ſwore to die in his defence. This done, he proceeded to appoint his miniſters, his generals, and prepared himſelf for wearing the crown with as much confidence as if he had been in poſſeſſion of a kingdom and a powerful army. But his reign was not long. At the end of a few hours a ruſſian officer came, and caught hold of his upſtart majeſty by the hair of his head, cauſed him to be bound by his own ſubjects, and ſent him to priſon at Tzaritzin. There the ſoldiers and the inhabitants, excited by the monks, made an attempt to ſet free the impoſtor. But colonel Zipletoff, commandant of the fortreſs, a part of the garriſon having retained their fidelity, ſucceeded, by means of their fire-arms, in diſperſing the ſeditious. The impoſtor was immediately condemned to the knoot, and periſhed under the ſcourge of the hangman.

A priſoner at Irkutzk attempted, in 1772, to follow the example of the four delinquents of whom we have juſt been ſpeaking, and met with no

no better a fate. All theſe tragical farces were only the prelude to ſanguinary ſcenes preparing by a more formidable villain.

Catharine now was doomed to ſee the third and greateſt calamity that befel her during the whole of her reign; an open rebellion and its attendant, a civil war. This calamity alſo took its riſe in Aſia, and proceeded quite to Moſco. The author of it was Ikhelman * Pugatſheff, the ſon of a kozak, and born at Simoveïſk, a village on the borders of the Don. He ſerved at firſt as a common ſoldier in the army which the empreſs Elizabeth ſent, in 1756, againſt the king of Pruſſia. He afterwards made the campaign of 1769 againſt the Turks, and fought under general Panin at the ſiege of Bender. On the ſurrender of that town he applied for his diſmiſſion; which was refuſed him. Upon this he fled to Poland. Here ſome hermits of the greek confeſſion, of whom he demanded the rights of hoſpitality, kept him concealed for ſome time.

With theſe hermits he frequently diſcourſed of his campaigns and his various adventures. One day he related to them, that while he was

* Some perſons call him Yemelka, and others Yemelyan Pugatſhef; but he is named Ikhelman in the manifeſtos of the empreſs.

in

in the army of general Panin, a ruſſian officer ſaid to him, after conſidering him for a long time, "If the emperor Peter III. my maſter, "was not dead, I ſhould believe that I ſaw him "once more in thee." The hermits ſeemed not to pay much attention to this matter; but ſome time after, one of their comrades, whom Pugatſheff had not yet ſeen, exclaimed all at once, "Is not that the emperor Peter III?" The monks then made attempts to ſeduce him; and found no great trouble in ſucceeding. As ſoon as he was prepared for being employed as an inſtrument in their impoſture, he went to the town of Dubranka, where he ſtayed ſome days. Thence he proceeded to Little Ruſſia, and ſojourned among the ſectaries, who are very numerous in thoſe parts, and practiſe the greek religion as it was taught by the primitive church. The impoſtor who pretended to the greateſt ſanctity, aſſumed the garb of a patriarch, and beſtowed his benedictions on the people with the air of a new apoſtle. He declared that he had no views for his own intereſt, he being entirely weaned from the vanities of the world, and the remainder of his life devoted wholly to piety; and that as ſoon as he had placed his dear ſon upon the throne, he would again retire to lead the life of a hermit. Notwithſtanding the

groſſneſs of this impoſture, the pitiableneſs and marvellous circumſtances of the tale, operating upon the diſcontent and ignorance of the people, procured him an infinite number of followers, among whom were many of the nobility of the government of Oremberg, where the troubles began, as well as of the adjoining countries. Afraid of being detected as a deſerter, he ran to the kozaks of the banks of the Yaïk, a river to which Catharine has ſince given the name of Oural *. Pugatſheff communicated to ſeveral of theſe kozaks the deſign he had formed of putting himſelf at the head of a party, and engaged them to accompany him into the mountains of Caucaſus, with the aſſurance that there they would find powerful ſuccours. They were ignorant as yet that he had reſolved to give himſelf out for Peter III. But, as it was known that he was diſpoſing the people to ſedition, he was ſeized at Malkoffska, and ſent to take his trial at Kaſan. The governor here neglected to proſecute him. Pugatſheff, while in priſon, was frequently viſited by the popes, who, it is not

* It was to obliterate the memory of the revolt of theſe kozaks that the empreſs ordered the name of the river Yaïk to be changed into that of Oural, and the name of the mountains of Yaïk into that of the Ouralſkoi mountains.

to

to be doubted, were in poſſeſſion of his ſecret. They furniſhed him with money, which he employed in corrupting his guards, and made his eſcape. He immediately rejoined ſome of his old comrades, went down the Volga as far as the mouth of the Irghis, proceeded up that river, and penetrated into the deſert. Here he ſaw his company increaſing from day to day; and when he thought he might ſafely reckon on a formidable party, he publicly declared that he was the emperor Peter III. delivered by a miracle from the hand of his aſſaſſins.

It was not at firſt known with certainty what could have moved him to this foul revolt, and induced him to act ſo dangerous a part. Some imagined it was at the inſtigation of the divan: and indeed the Turks could not have wiſhed for a more timely diverſion, and which actually wrought very powerfully in their behalf in 1773. Others ſaw in this buſineſs the finger of the french miniſtry, which, on finding its hopes of the enervation of Ruſſia by the diſturbances in Poland and the war with Turkey fruſtrated, might have recurred to the artifice of raiſing up an inteſtine foe. However, of all this no trace was ever to be diſcovered. Pugatſheff had no foreigner about him, and at length ſtood in need of far better counſel than he could obtain from

his own unformed though not very defective underſtanding. If any european cabinet was working at a diſtance upon him and through him, it was neceſſary that he ſhould at leaſt have begun his rebellion, ere the thought could have occurred to it of meddling in the matter. Perhaps therefore, as ſome ſurmiſed, the firſt movement was in himſelf. What was undeniably the cauſe that moved his tribe to join him was the religious diſcord that ſubſiſted between that race and the domineering church. In Ruſſia there is a ſort of ſeparatiſts, who in the former century ſprung up on the introduction of ſome alterations in the eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies by the patriarch Nicon. The government encouraged his reformation; while many of the ſubjects regarded it with abhorrence, as an innovation, and the patriarch himſelf as antichriſt. For theſe people the party-name Roſkolniki, which is tantamount to heretics or ſchiſmatics, was invented; but they call themſelves Starovertzi, or Believers according to the old faith. They reject all that is done by the prevailing church as unholy; becauſe they think the ſucceſſion of biſhops interrupted by Nicon, and therefore refuſe to acknowledge his adherents for true prieſts. They deſpiſe the public worſhip which is adminiſtered by the clergy appointed

appointed by government, never receive the communion of them, nor ſuffer their children to be baptized at their hands. On the other hand, they boaſt their biſhops and prieſts to have received genuine conſecration from the patriarch Joſeph, which has been propagated in undiſturbed ſucceſſion. They live, however, ſo cloſe and retired, that their diſcipline and principles are not thoroughly known; as they have undergone ſome ſevere perſecutions, eſpecially in former times, and ſo lately as under Peter I. Catharine II. immediately on her acceſſion to the government, aboliſhed ſeveral regulations that tended much to the diſadvantage of the Roſkolnicks. In Ruſſia proper there are but few of this ſect of faith; but all Siberia is full of them; and all the kozaks of the Don and of ſouthern Aſia are zealouſly attached to it. At firſt ſight it may appear ſurpriſing, that a rude and half-ſavage people ſhould take part in theological controverſies with ſo much zeal. But we learn from the hiſtory of Poland, that the horrible wars of that kingdom with its protected relatives the kozaks, in the laſt century, had likewiſe religious coercion for their foundation: a deſign was formed to force them to throw off the original form of their primitive religion, and to become of what were called the United. The

hordes of kozaks ſeem to be extremely bigoted to pure orthodoxy, and to hold all attempt at innovation in abhorrence. In fact, it is wonderful that governments ſhould think of perſecuting ſuch ſimple honeſt beings for their notions on theſe and ſimilar ſubjects.

Beſides this animoſity to the eſtabliſhed church, and beſides the natural inconſiſtency of this turbulent people, another circumſtance occurred to the kozaks of the Yaïk. They had for ſeveral years before been engaged in violent differences with their attaman *, concerning the bounds of their fiſheries, and the court was obliged to ſend, in 1767, general Traubenberg and the captain of the guards Durnoff to quell them. But the kozaks were ſo diſſatisfied with the deciſions of theſe commiſſioners, that they murdered the general, and cruelly treated the captain. Theſe crimes remained unpuniſhed, becauſe the government was too much employed in foreign concerns: a diſadvantage that naturally

* This word ſignifies a commander.—But it differs from hetman, which implies the chief of the kozak ſtate collectively. This latter poſt, which confers great wealth as well as enormous power, the crown has often ſuffered to lie dormant. Elizabeth revived it for her favourite, Razumoffsky. Catharine aboliſhed the dignity again in 1764, but afterwards conferred it on prince Potemkin.

attends

attends a too great extent of empire, that foreign politics and war take off the attention and energy of government from the interior. The kozaks themſelves, however, did not forget what they had done, and apprehended very dangerous conſequences from it: they thought the crown was making preparations for revenge, and concluded that the beſt ſecurity on their ſide againſt it was a farther reſiſtance by means of rebellion: beſides, they fancied that the ſilence of the court was a mark of its weakneſs, and that they might therefore take theſe ſteps unheeded. In ſhort, their minds in general were bent upon violent meaſures, when Pugatſheff made his appearance among them, and renewed the tranſactions of the Don-kozak Stenka Razin, which were ſtill freſh in the memory of ſome, who, in the preceding century, in the time of the reforming patriarch Nicon, had raiſed a formidable rebellion, firſt among the hordes of the Volga, and then among them of the Yaïk. The kozaks, in general, from the levity natural to a people not tied down to a calm and ſedate way of life, are not accuſtomed to act with conſummate prudence, and have frequently cauſed alarm to the government; but on many occaſions likewiſe their bravery and fidelity have been of eminent ſervice to the ruſſian empire.

Pugatſheff took the moſt effectual means of working on the temper of his nation by giving himſelf out for Peter III. pretending that he made his eſcape by flight through an extraordinary intervention of providence, from the murderers who were determined on his deſtruction, and in place of whom a ſoldier very like him had been ſubſtituted as a victim to their fury. That the report of his death was only a fiction coined by the court, to compoſe the minds of the people, and reconcile them to the preſent unlawful government, by being cut off from all hopes of a better.

The kozaks on the borders of the Caſpian, a credulous and ignorant race, and remote from all correſpondence with any principal towns, received in 1773, with honeſt joy, the private intelligence of the condition of the man to whom they looked up for deliverance from the oppreſſions of the predominant church; and, ſtrange as it may ſeem, this very circumſtance made the ſimple ſtory credible to them. In order to juſtify the dethronization of Peter, the people were at that time told, that he wanted to alter the dreſs and the rites of the clergy, to ſhake the eſtabliſhed religion to its very foundations, and unlawfully to diminiſh the ſplendid revenues of the church. What idea could the kozaks entertain

entertain of that emperor, according to this account of him, but as of a genuine roſkolnik *, who, for that very reaſon, was deprived of his crown? Theſe roſkolniks now began to look about them, and found it highly natural, that he

* Theſe ſectaries are called, by the greek chriſtians, *roſkolniki* or heretics; but they deſignate themſelves by the appellation *ſtaroverſki*, or people of the ancient faith.—To give an idea of the fanaticiſm and intrepidity of theſe wild chriſtians, we will cite the example of one of their prieſts, named Toma, who lived during the reign of Peter the great.—Toma thought proper to preach at Moſco againſt the invocation of ſaints and ſome other dogmas of the dominant church. The clergy cited him to appear before them, and exhorted him to make a ſolemn abjuration of his erroneous tenets. Inſtead of hearkening to their admonitions, Toma armed himſelf with an axe, entered the church on the day of the feaſt of St. Alexius, and hewed to pieces, not only the figure of the ſaint, but that of the virgin. This done, he got up into the pulpit, to explain the motives of his conduct; but the people would not give him time to ſpeak. He was ſentenced to hold his right hand, with the hatchet in it, over a fire, till it was entirely conſumed, and then to be burnt alive. Toma heard his ſentence read with the utmoſt compoſure of mind; nor did his courage forſake him at the time of execution. He ſedately held his hand extended over the flame: and when he was laid upon the faggots, he continued to declaim againſt the abuſes that had been introduced into religion.—Whenever the government has thought fit to oblige the roſkolniks to embrace the ruſſian faith, numbers of them have aſſembled by families in barns, and have ſuffered themſelves to be burnt alive. This happened in 1722 in various parts of Ruſſia.

would

would throw himſelf into their arms as his brethren in the faith. With hearty attachment, therefore, they joined themſelves to him; having before them the raviſhing proſpect of retaliating on the predominant church all the calamities it had brought upon their fathers, if the emperor ſhould re-aſcend the throne that of right belonged to him, by their aſſiſtance, and that then the orthodox believers would completely triumph over the execrable innovators, the cruel corrupters of the orthodox faith.

About the middle of September 1773, Pugatſheff's whole retinue conſiſted of nine perſons: a few days afterwards he was at the head of 300 men. With theſe, on the 17th of September, he boldly preſented himſelf before Yaïtſkoy, and ſummoned that town to ſurrender, notwithſtanding there were in it 5000 kozaks and two field-regiments. To theſe troops he ſent his manifeſto, in which he declared to them, among other things, "that he was Peter III. who had "eſcaped from Ropſcha at the inſtant when his "aſſaſſins were about to murder him; that the "traitors who had dethroned him, and dreaded "his return, had falſely invented and propa-"gated the report of his death; that he had "been obliged to put on the diſguiſe of a kozak, "to bear arms for his perſecutors, and after-

"wards

" wards to conceal himſelf among the true and " faithful believers, to whom he had made him- " ſelf known; that having learnt at length that " the brave zokaks of the Yaïk were reſolved " to free themſelves from the yoke of the uſurp- " atrix, he was come to put himſelf into their " hands, and to offer to march with them to " victory and to vengeance." Immediately 500 of the kozaks came over to him, bringing with them 11 of their officers: the lieutenant-colonel, who was commander of the place, fearing leſt all his people ſhould deſert him, drew back into the town. Pugatſheff followed him, and cauſed that officer to be hanged up; and in this manner he ever afterwards acted with all the commanders of the places to which he came. It would be impoſſible to deſcribe all the cruelties with which this barbarian treated the ſeveral perſons of rank that fell into his power; as well as to delineate his marches from place to place, his conqueſts of towns, and his battles, which ſhew that he was not wanting in courage, and frequently not in regular plans and ſtratagems of war: nor would the attempt be leſs fruitleſs, to recount on the other ſide, all the miſtakes and negligences committed by the ruſſian commanders, and the baſeneſs with which numbers of them ſubmitted to him. General Karr was appointed by

by the court of Peterſburg to go and reſtore tranquillity. Whether he thought that the bare news of his arrival would diſperſe the rebels, he travelled poſt from Moſco to Orenburg, which Pugatſheff kept cloſe beſieged; and by his imprudence ſacrificed the whole of a large detachment; renewed the attack with what ſoldiers he had left, was beaten, and returned by poſt to Moſco with as much haſte as he had left it.

Pugatſheff, attended by his kozaks, as well thoſe who were his firſt partiſans as the others who ſince attached themſelves to him, attacked the colonies which the empreſs had newly eſtabliſhed on the ſhores of the Irghis. He wanted their arms and their horſes: theſe he carried off; but did them no farther harm; for as yet he affected a moderation to which ſoon ſucceeded the moſt atrocious brutality. Having already under his command 14,000 ſoldiers, he preſented himſelf again before the gates of Yaïtſk. He ſent to the governor an order, ſigned with the name of Peter III. to ſurrender to him the town. The governor refuſed to obey; and Pugatſheff began the aſſault, but was courageouſly repulſed. Perceiving that it would be impoſſible to carry the place by force, he reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and oblige it to ſurrender by famine.

famine. This proved alike ineffectual; for the garriſon, though reduced to the neceſſity of eating the fleſh of their horſes, and even to live upon boiled leather, obſtinately continued to hold out, and repreſſed the inhabitants who wanted to open the gates to Pugatſheff. The patience and the zeal of this garriſon were nobly rewarded. A conſiderable body of ruſſian forces came to its relief juſt in time to ſave it from the maſſacre, to which there is no doubt that it had been devoted by the rebels.

Pugatſheff was not long ere he compenſated himſelf for this diſappointment. He ſurpriſed the tribes Œlœts, and took, ſword in hand, the two fortreſſes by which they were protected. The fort of Tatiſcheva, which he afterwards attacked, made a ſtouter reſiſtance: but, the fortifications being only of timber, he conſigned it to the flames, and forced the garriſon to ſeek their ſafety by flight.

The governor of Orenburg, informed of the progreſs of the rebels, marched againſt them a detachment under the orders of colonel Buloff. This officer was deficient both in prudence and fortitude: and, being ſurpriſed in the defiles of the mountains by the troops of Pugatſheff, he was inhumanly put to the ſword. Thoſe of his ſoldiers who refuſed to enliſt among the rebels, remained

remained priſoners. General Chernicheff, who, at the head of a ſecond detachment, was to have joined colonel Buloff, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed as the latter had been, and met with no better a fate.

The army of Pugatſheff being now very ſtrong by forced recruits and voluntary and more numerous acceſſions of kozaks, that rebel went and laid ſiege to Orenburg. The governor of that town had already reduced himſelf by the ſeveral detachments he had ſent againſt the rebels. The ſoldiers that remained to him were not in a condition for making any defence. Orenburg was on the point of being taken, when the garriſon of Kraſnogorſk advanced with ſuccours, and valiantly cutting a paſſage though the beſiegers, threw themſelves into the place and ſaved it.

The noiſe of the rapid conqueſts of Pugatſheff gained him new adherents. Whole hordes came and ranked under his ſtandards: the Baſchkirs, a hunting people, who live upon the ruſſian territory, and wear its yoke with diſcontent, declared themſelves for the rebels, and furniſhed them with numerous recruits. The Kirguiſes ſhortly after followed the Baſchkirs; they were imitated by the Budyak Tartars, whom the empreſs had cauſed to be tranſported to the banks of the Volga,

Volga, after the capture of Bender, and who could never forgive that princeſs for their tranſmigration. The revolt ſpread itſelf into the other colonies of thoſe countries. The peaſants employed in the copper mines and the founderies of the mountains of Oural, left their work and took up arms.

Pugatſheff vigorouſly puſhed the ſiege of Orenburg. While the trenches were occupied by one part of his troops, the other went and brought off the copper money which is coined on the ſpot and laid up in ſtores. Here he alſo caſt cannon and balls for the ſervice of the operations againſt the town. He employed ſome of the winter months in this ſiege, during which time he delivered himſelf up to the exceſſes of debauchery and cruelty.

The rebels had by this time ſo numerous an army, that the regiments ſent from Kaſan, often narrowly eſcaped being forced, in defending the paſſage of the mountains which ſeparate that city from Orenburg. During the winter a body of 10,000 Kalmuks, after having revolted in the environs of Stavropol, and ſlain the brigadier Véguézac* their commander, joined themſelves to the troops of Pugatſheff. But

* He was a french refugee.

what contributed perhaps to render his army ſtill more formidable, was a great number of the Poles whom Catharine had ſent into exile in the deſerts of Siberia. Glorying in ſo many advantages, Pugatſheff ran over the mountains of the government of Orenburg, committing depredations wherever he came. The petty town of Ouſa was the only one that made any reſiſtance. He committed the ſiege of it to one of the chiefs of his army, and marched ſtrait to Ekatarinenburg, where he knew that there was a depoſit of nearly 1,000,000 of rubles in copper money newly coined. An accident ſaved the town. At the inſtant when Pugatſheff came up to it, he received the falſe intelligence that a ruſſian army, ſuperior in force to his own, was advancing by a circuitous route. He believed the information: and having ſlackened his march in order to collect his forces, he left time to the regiments diſperſed on the frontiers of Siberia, to come to the defence of Ekatarinenburg.

For ſome time after Pugatſheff had taken arms, obſervant of the leſſons he had received from the hermits of Podolia, and the prieſts of the roſkolniki, he put on the appearance of much moderation and piety. He wore an epiſcopal robe, gave the benediction to the people, aſſuring them that for himſelf he was deſtitute of

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all ambition, and that he had no other deſign than to place the grand duke his ſon on the throne, and then go and finiſh his days among the pious recluſes, who had afforded him ſo convenient an aſylum after his eſcape from his aſſaſſins. This artful conduct procured him ſoldiers. Other means obtained him victory; and then adding courage to activity, he let no opportunity eſcape him for ſpreading far and wide the terror of his arms. He dexterouſly took advantage of the knowledge of the country in which he conducted his warfare, and the imprudence or the weakneſs of the enemy. He never abandoned the pillage of a canton but in order to fly to a ſiege; and ſcarcely had he obliged a town to ſubmit, before he was on the march to engage in a battle. But this man, who triumphed with ſuch rapidity over all the ſeverities of fortune, was incapable of ſupporting its favours. Succeſs increaſed his arrogance; he thought it impoſſible to meet with obſtacles which he muſt not eaſily ſurmount. He threw aſide all conſtraint, gave ſcope to his ſanguinary temper and to his brutal paſſions, ſuffered the enthuſiaſm of his partiſans to cool, gave time to his adverſaries to prepare to ſubdue him, and fooliſhly ſtopped in the midſt of his career.

The ſpirit of rebellion had ſpread as far as Moſco. Marſhal Romantzoff had not dared to weaken himſelf by ſending ſuccours to that capital, which was defended only by a garriſon of 600 men. Pugatſheff had no more to do than to preſent himſelf before it, for making himſelf maſter of the place: he neglected to go. Thus loſing by his own fault, not only the ſecond city of the empire in point of conſequence, but an army alſo of 100,000 vaſſals who expected him there, and only waited his arrival for running away from bondage.

Pugatſheff neglected even to profit by the advantages he had gained in the provinces which had ſubmitted to his arms. He ſpent the greater part of the winter in the uſeleſs ſieges of Orenburg and Yaïtſk. It was before Orenburg that he exterminated by the ſabre all the officers and gentry of the country round; not ſparing even their wives and their children: determined, as he ſaid, to ſhed the very laſt drop of blood of the haughty and tyrannical nobility. But, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, at the ſame time that he was inhumanly butchering the nobles, he conferred on thoſe of his partiſans, of whom he thought himſelf moſt ſure, the names of the principal families of the

empire, and the enſigns of divers orders of knighthood.

He alienated a number of his countrymen by braving the religious prejudices in behalf of which he had at firſt performed the part of a zealot. Although he had been married for ſome years to Sophia the daughter of a kozak, and had three children by this union, he had the effrontery at Yaïtſk to marry a public woman, and celebrated his nuptials with all the bacchanal licentiouſneſs that was worthy of the wife he had eſpouſed.

Catharine, alarmed at the rebellion that menaced her throne, ſeriouſly ſet about checking its progreſs. She recalled general Bibikoff from the frontiers of Turkey, gave him the command of a conſiderable army, with orders to march againſt the rebels. At the ſame time ſhe cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed at St. Peterſburg, and circulated through the principal towns of the empire*.

Three new ukauſes followed cloſe upon that which announced the march of Bibikoff. In one the people were admoniſhed to obſerve henceforth no laws but ſuch as are ſigned by the empreſs's own hand: in the other all deſerters,

* Which ſee in the appendix to this vol. No. XII.

and eſpecially the kozaks of the Don and the Yaïk, to return to the ſtandard of the empreſs, aſſuring them of an amneſty to be in force till the firſt of April in the enſuing year. Laſtly, by the third a reward was ſet upon the head of Pugatſheff, promiſing a recompence of 100,000 rubles to whoever ſhould put him to death*.

Neither was Pugatſheff, on his ſide, ſparing of manifeſtos; and on their publication he always took care to affix the name of Peter III. By one of theſe manifeſtos he affranchiſes all the boors. He alſo caufed rubles to be ſtruck, with his effigy and this inſcription: "Peter III. em-"peror and autocrator of all the Ruſſias." And on the reverſe, "Redivivus et ultor."

In the mean time general Bibikoff was already at Kaſan†. Having received advice that the rebels had made themſelves maſters of Samara, he detached a part of his army to go and retake that city. The ſiege was not of long continuance. The rebels abandoned the place with eight pieces of cannon and 200 priſoners.

* It plainly appears that the empreſs was much alarmed at this revolt, and yet ſhe had ſo much ſelf-command as to make a jeſt of it in ſome of her letters. She even called the chief of the rebels *le marquis Pugatſheff*.

† He arrived there the 25th of December 1773.

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The nobleſſe of Kaſan were convoked; and general Bibikoff invited them to join him in oppoſing the rebellion. To this the nobleſſe were already diſpoſed, as it was their own cauſe which they had to defend. Their example was followed by thoſe of Sinbirſk, of Penza, and ſeveral other governments; and the regiments they formed without loſs of time conſiderably augmented the forces of Bibikoff. Catharine then wrote to that general, "that not only ſhe ſaw "with gratitude the zeal which the nobles "had ſo generouſly diſplayed, in offering to "ſacrifice every thing to the public welfare; "but that to give on that occaſion a ſhining "mark of her benevolence, ſhe had reſolved to "become herſelf a member of the nobility "of Kaſan, and to be regarded as a denizen "of that city."

Lieutenant-colonel Grineff gained a firſt advantage at Alexieff*. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, the rebels left him maſter of the field of battle and three pieces of cannon. A few days afterwards they fell upon him while on his march, but they were again diſcomfited. Some other lieutenants of Bibikoff obtained alſo conſiderable ſucceſſes in engagements with ſeveral

* The 9th of January.

bodies of Tartars. Notwithſtanding which, the rebels increaſed in numbers and inſolence from day to day. They ran from all parts of eaſtern Ruſſia, and ravaged an extent of country of upwards of 600 leagues.

General Bibikoff having advanced at the head of 35,000 men, forced Pugatſheff to raiſe the ſiege of Orenburg, where a famine was beginning to rage. The rebels retreated into the environs of Tatiſcheva. Bibikoff ſent in purſuit of them major-general prince Gallitzin with a conſiderable body of troops. Prince Gallitzin attacked Pugatſheff, and fought him valiantly: but for this firſt time he obtained no decided advantage. On this occaſion he could not help remarking, that the ferocious intrepidity of the rebels was directed by officers who had not acquired the whole of their ſkill in the deſerts of Baſchkiria, or under the tents of the Kalmuks*.

On his retreat from prince Gallitzin, Pugatſheff changed all at once the courſe of his march, and fell upon Bibikoff, who had only kept with him a weak part of his army. The

* It is affirmed, that among them was a brother of the famous Pulauſky, general of the confederation of Bar. Beſides ſome of their leaders, as Antizoff, Uſſeïeff, and Naiga-Baka-Azanoff, were both brave and intelligent men.

conflict

conflict was bloody, and the ruſſian general loſt his life.

Prince Gallitzin burnt with the deſire to revenge the death of Bibikoff. He attacked the rebels again near Kargaula, 12 miles from Orenburg: in this action he killed a great number of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Pugatſheff that day fought ſix hours; but ſeeing himſelf abandoned on all ſides, he took to flight, and eſcaped with difficulty to the mountains of Oural, where he was joined by his partiſans with all poſſible ſpeed. But preſently appearing again with a conſiderable army, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places to the eaſt of the mountains, ſetting fire to ſuch as made the leaſt reſiſtance. Here he was attacked by a body of Ruſſians, who routed him afreſh, and obliged him to take again to the inacceſſible heights: where, perceiving that the only courſe he had to purſue was to attempt at retrieving his fortune by ſome ſignal advantage, all at once he deſcends from the ſummits of Oural, and marches with rapidity towards Kaſan, leaving marks of his cruelty at every ſtep of his way. No ſooner had he appeared before Kaſan, but he ſet the ſuburbs in one conflagration. Major-general Paul Potemkin*, governor of the province, might have

* He was a couſin of prince Potemkin.

kept the field againſt Pugatſheff, and have oppoſed himſelf to the combuſtion of Kaſan: he choſe rather to ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs, where the rebels beſieged him, and would inevitably have taken him, if colonel Mikelſon had not come up to his deliverance. Pugatſheff had not even dared to wait for Mikelſon, but precipitately raiſed the ſiege, and fled: Mikelſon, however, went after him, came up with him, haraſſed him for three days, and at laſt gave him a total defeat, after a long and bloody conteſt.

Pugatſheff continued fighting in his defence till he had not above 300 kozaks left. With this troop, whoſe bravery and fidelity ſupported the hope of the impoſtor, he put ſpurs to his horſe, croſſed the Volga, and gained the deſert.

It might have been reaſonably expected that this defeat would have intimidated all ſuch as had formed the project of joining the rebels; and yet Pugatſheff ſaw daily arriving about him whole ſwarms of kozaks, of Kalmuks, of Baſhkirs, and boors, whom the very ſound of liberty, and the hope of eſcaping their oppreſſive maſters, had cauſed to abandon their labour, and fly to arms. Proud of the number of his troops, who ſeemed to multiply in proportion as they were deſtroyed

deſtroyed by the ruſſian cannon, he reſolved to proceed to the attack of Moſco. His partiſans continued ſecretly to fan the flames of rebellion. The people waited for him as for a redeemer; but it was too late. At the inſtant that Pugatſheff was beginning his march, he learnt that the Ruſſians had juſt concluded a peace with the Ottomans. Dreading now that he ſhould have to contend with the greater part of the army of marſhal Romantzoff, he thought of turning his arms to another quarter.

Intelligence being brought him that ſome ruſſian regiments were encamped on the ſhores of the Volga, he deſcended along that river, came upon thoſe regiments by ſurpriſe, routed them entirely, and took by aſſault two or three little forts, of which Saratoff was one. The commander, who knew the cataſtrophe to which he was doomed, ſeized the moment when the conqueror was buſied in pillage, and eſcaped with 50 men alone. The town of Dmitrefsk was baſely ſurrendered by treachery to Pugatſheff, who had the barbarity to cauſe the governor to be impaled alive.

While he was at Dmitrefsk, he was told that the aſtronomer Lovitch, member of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg, was employed in the neighbourhood in taking levels for

for a canal projected between the Don and the Volga. He immediately commanded him to be brought before him; and when the learned and peaceful aſtronomer was in his preſence, he ordered his men to lift him up upon their pikes, "in order," ſaid he, "that he may be nearer "the ſtars;" and then cauſed him to be cut in pieces by the kozaks. But ſuch atrocious acts cannot be of long duration; and the greater the exceſſes committed by Pugatſheff, the greater was the ſecurity of the empreſs.

That princeſs, freed from the cares ſo long occaſioned her by the war with the Turks, gave orders to ſend freſh troops againſt the rebels, and gave the command of them to general Panin, who had gained great reputation by the taking of Bender. But from the moment that prince Orloff was reinſtated in favour, his inveterate hatred to the miniſter extended itſelf to his brother alſo; and the empreſs conſented, for ſome time, to let one of her beſt generals remain in a ſtate of inaction. The want ſhe had of him, or rather the reviving favour of his brother, induced her to employ him again. At length he ſet out on his march againſt Pugatſheff. The rebel forces were bearing hard upon the town of Tzaritzin, and doubtleſs intending for it a ſimilar fate with that of Saratoff; but they were obliged

to

to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation. Panin ſent off a detachment to colonel Mikelſon. With this reinforcement Mikelſon cut off the convoys of Pugatſheff, ſtarved his army, and attacked him at the very time when, encumbered with many carts loaded with baggage, and a multitude of women who accompanied it, it was engaged in the intricate paſſes of the mountains. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of their poſition, the rebels determined not to ſubmit. Great numbers of them were killed on the ſpot; and many of the reſt periſhed in the precipices, and among the ſteep and rugged rocks where they ſought a refuge.

Pugatſheff kept the field of battle till he had abſolutely no more means of defence. He now again ſwam over the Volga; then croſſed the vaſt deſert which extends through the adjacent diſtrict, and found himſelf at nearly the ſame place where he firſt raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion. Several of his friends had rejoined him on his flight; but hunger, fatigue, and diſappointment determined great numbers to forſake him: notwithſtanding which, he might long have cauſed diſburbance to the empire, if treachery had not ſtepped in to the aſſiſtance of the ruſſian army.

Antizoff,

Antizoff, the intimate confidant of Pugatſheff, and one of the chiefs who had the moſt authority with the kozaks, had been taken priſoner; and his conſequence was employed in reducing his nation to obedience. Gifts and promiſes were laviſhed upon him; and he was commiſſioned to aſſure his countrymen that the cuſtomary gratifications for the defence of the frontiers ſhould be renewed. The expences occaſioned by the war againſt the Turks had cauſed the payment of theſe gratifications to be ſuſpended; and this was one of the motives that gave birth to the inſurrection of the kozaks.

But, after all, to the indefatigable exertions of colonel Mikelſon, Ruſſia is peculiarly indebted for the quelling of this dangerous rebellion. From January 1774, he purſued the rebels without intermiſſion, how numerous ſoever their ſwarms, how remote the expedition, and whatever fortune attended his enterpriſes. It almoſt exceeds belief with what toilſome perſeverance Mikelſon purſued his march over the deſerts of trackleſs ſnow, without a guide, without ſuccours, at times almoſt without food; how his company, always ſmall, and often ſpent with fatigue, whenever they met with the great hoſt of the rebels, always attacked, and always beat them:

them: only by the prudence and the bravery of the colonel, and the confidence he had acquired from his troops. To upwards of 7000 verſts did the ſpace amount, which this excellent ſoldier had travelled over within a few months, in the moſt inclement ſeaſon, with his men.

Pugatſheff had at one time a prodigious concourſe of people. Whole nations, the Baſhkirs, many of the Votiaks, many Tartars, flocked to his banners. He conceived the grand idea of conquering the ancient and great capital of the kingdom of Kaſan; and it ſucceeded. Only the detached fort which Potemkin had entered held out againſt his attacks. The archbiſhop of Kaſan came ſubmiſſively, with a bag of gold in his hand, to the conqueror, and only waited for the fort to ſurrender, that he might bring him a ſecond bag, and ſolemnly crown the rebel. The impreſſion this circumſtance would have made on the people is not to be told. In the regions of Orenburg, Kaſan, and Ouſa, the generality of the inhabitants had declared for the impoſtor. When the reſtleſs Mikelſon preſſed him hard, when he was in want of proviſions, or military operations compelled him to change his quarters; when, by battles loſt, the number of his effective followers was diminiſhed to 4000 men; he needed only to ſhew himſelf in new

new diſtricts, and the ſubjects immediately roſe up againſt their lords, murdered them, or drove them away, and declared themſelves openly for Pugatſheff. At length he ſeemed to have formed the moſt dangerous of his plans: he was approaching faſt to Europe, and had croſſed the Volga. Whole regions went over to him. With the utmoſt conſternation it was thought poſſible that he might puſh on to Moſco; for it is a well-known fact, that the extremely numerous populace of that capital were diſpoſed to join him, and longed for his arrival. If he had attempted this with haſty marches, nothing could have reſiſted him; and who can calculate the conſequences, if Moſco had fallen into his hands? But here Pugatſheff ſhewed that, though endowed with talents and great preſence of mind*, yet he was too much of the barbarian for the execution of any great plan as a ſtateſman or commander: he neglected Moſco, though it is

* At the Don his firſt wife had been found out, (for at the Yaïk he married a ſecond,) and been ſent to Kaſan before that city was conquered, in order to convince the people of thoſe parts of his real condition and origin. On his arrival there he happened quite unexpectedly to ſee her, and, knowing her, he ſaid, without the leaſt alteration of countenance, "Clothe that woman well. I knew her huſ-"band; he has been of great ſervice to me on many oc-"caſions."

ſaid

ſaid that the general diſpoſition there was not unknown to him; and loſt his time in tempting over the kozaks of the Don and the Tartars of the Kuban. Now his perſecutor Mikelſon came up, and cut him off from Moſco; the reſt of the troops ſurrounded him, and ſhut up his waſted army in a deſert 500 verſts in length behind Tzaritzin. Hunger, thirſt, and awakening conſcience, opened the eyes of his followers. As he was prolonging his miſerable life by gnawing the bones of a horſe, ſome of the principal of them ran up to him, ſaying, "Come, thou haſt "been long enough emperor." He fired a piſtol, and ſhattered the arm of the foremoſt; the reſt of the kozaks bound him, ran away with their priſoner over the deſert to their ſeat on the Yaïk, and ſent a meſſenger to the commandant of the place to inform him of what they had done. General Suvaroff, hearing of the event, put the rebel under a ſufficient guard, and ſent him to priſon at Yaïtzkoï, from which place he brought him to Sinbirſk, where he delivered him over to general count Panin (who had formerly taken his diſmiſſion, but from real patriotiſm had requeſted to be permitted to have a ſhare in this conteſt)*. Mikelſon was purſuing the enemy in

* It is poſſible that, according to one report that was circulated at the time, theſe kozaks had been bought over, though

in the deſerts, when he received intelligence of the fate of the leaders of the inſurgents. Upon this he conducted his troops to Saratoff, to reſt after the fatigues they had undergone, but proceeded himſelf to Sinbirſk, where Panin gave him a noble and friendly reception, and whence Catharine recalled him, in order to recompenſe him according to his deſert.—Thus terminated the rebellion, in which 100,000 men were ſlain.

General Panin cauſed the traitor Pugatſheff to be conveyed in an iron cage to Moſco *, together with ſeveral of his principal accomplices.

When the empreſs was informed that Pugatſheff was in the priſon of Moſco, ſhe appointed a commiſſion, who united with the ſenate, for the trial of the rebel: taking care, at the ſame

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though nothing appeared in confirmation of it. It was ſaid that, while Antizoff was negotiating his accommodation, three other kozaks, who had likewiſe been bribed, undertook to deliver up Pugatſheff; that, accordingly, they went to him, and adviſed him, as no means were now left him of ſafety, to make a voluntary ſurrender; that, incenſed at this baſeneſs as he called it, he wanted to puniſh one of them on the ſpot; and that then the three fell upon him at once, bound him, &c. The fact, as related in the text, came out on the trial.

* Pugatſheff arrived at Moſco in the month of September 1774, and was executed the 21ſt of January following.

time,

time, to recommend to them to be ſatisfied with the confeſſion of his crime, without applying the torture, and without requiring him to name his accomplices. Her majeſty was doubtleſs apprehenſive leſt the declarations of the culprit might oblige her to multiply puniſhments, and plunge the empire into new calamities.

The ſentence paſſed on Pugatſheff was, that he ſhould have his two hands and both his feet cut off; that they ſhould be ſhewn to the people; and that afterwards he ſhould be quartered alive. But this butchering ſentence was not fulfilled. By ſome perſons it is ſaid that a ſecret order from the empreſs mitigated it. Others pretend that the executioner was leſs inhuman * than the judges; and others again affirm, that it was by a mere miſtake of the man. However it be, Pugatſheff was firſt decapitated; after which his body was cut into quarters, which were expoſed in as many parts of the town. Five of his principal accomplices were likewiſe beheaded; three others were hanged; and eighteen more underwent the knoot, and were ſent to Siberia. Pugatſheff met his fate with the moſt undaunted reſolution,

* What ſeems to confirm this opinion is, that, after the execution of Pugatſheff, the wretched hangman had his tongue cut out, and was ſent into Siberia.

but was induced to acknowledge the juſtice of his ſentence, the deception he had uſed, with his true name and condition. It is ſaid, that an obſervation made ſeveral years ago by the celebrated count Totleben of the ſtriking reſemblance which he bore to the late emperor Peter III. took ſuch poſſeſſion of his mind, as to have been the operating cauſe of that calamity and ruin in which he involved, with himſelf, a great part of the empire, which coſt it the deſtruction of a great number of towns, and of upwards of 250 villages, the interruption of the works at the mines of Orenburg, and the whole trade of Siberia. The Baſhkirs, who in 1770 amounted to 27,000 families, loſt, during the rebellion, great numbers of people, and, after it was finally quelled, many of their privileges and immunities. The Meſtſheræks, a tartar nation, who lived amongſt them, formerly paid them a land-tax; this, as a puniſhment on the former, was now aboliſhed; for the Meſtſheræks had remained true to the crown: they were immediately declared free people, on the footing of the kozaks, and received ſeveral of the villages of the ſlaughtered Baſhkirs, reckoned at 1849 farms.—Laſtly, in order to make an awful impreſſion on the nations around by a laſting and ſenſible token of diſpleaſure, the empreſs, by a

ukauſe,

ukauſe, aboliſhed the name of Yaïk for ever, That river, which takes its riſe from the eaſtern ſide of the mounts Oural, and gave name to the kozaks that dwell on its borders, is at preſent, throughout the ruſſian empire, called the Oural: and the town Yaïtzkoï, where Pugatſheff began and finiſhed his rebellion, bears now the name of Ouralſk.

On recalling to our memory at once the momentous occurrences that followed one another ſo rapidly in ſuch a ſhort ſeries of years, we are loſt in admiration of that mind which could calmly and ſedately ſurvey their tumultuous ſucceſſion, and could, in perfect compoſure, provide the fitteſt means for aſſuaging their violence and correcting their influence, while it ſhewed itſelf firm and great in all other tranſactions of a public nature, both foreign and domeſtic, ſo as to gain the reverence of friends, and extort the reſpect of foes. But this is not all: ever intereſted in promoting the glory and elevation of the country which had fallen under her guidance, Catharine at the ſame time was promoting its internal welfare, by encouraging the ſciences and the arts of peace; and wherever ſhe appeared, eaſe and cheerfulneſs were in her train; and her converſations and letters were

always ſeaſoned with pleaſantry and temperate mirth.

Shortly after the puniſhment of Pugatſheff, the empreſs had a freſh opportunity for diſplaying her clemency, by granting a pardon to men who, though not guilty of crimes of ſo heinous a nature as thoſe of that traitor, yet were juſtly deſerving of capital puniſhment. They were the treaſurers of the empire, who had embezzled the public money. Catharine would not even allow them to be brought to trial. She had overcome what was naturally iraſcible and violent in her temper, and had learnt patience and lenity from the leſſons of philoſophy. She has alſo been heard to ſay, "What I cannot "otherthrow, I undermine and root up." The heavy burden incurred by her foreign and domeſtic wars did not prevent the empreſs from taking off moſt of the taxes which were laid for their ſupport; and, as if the ſtrength and riches of government in her country increaſed with its expence, ſhe alſo aboliſhed a number of the ancient taxes, which were either conſidered as diſcouraging to agriculture, or burdenſome and oppreſſive to particular provinces or orders of the people. In the ſame ſpirit of beneficence and good policy, ſhe lent great ſums of money, intereſt

intereſt free, and for a ſpecified term of years, to thoſe provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and, to crown a general pardon, ſhe ſtrictly forbad any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches uſed on its account, but condemned all matters relative to it to perpetual ſilence and oblivion.

She alſo eſtabliſhed a number of other regulations, all tending to the ſecurity, advantage, and happineſs of her ſubjects, to aboliſh pernicious diſtinctions, deſtroy ruinous monopolies, reſtrain the cruelty of puniſhment, remove oppreſſive or impolitic reſtrictions or prohibitions, and to reſtore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in thoſe different ranks which they fill in ſociety. A pardon was alſo granted to thoſe criminals who had already undergone a long degree of ſuffering for their crimes; and an ordinance iſſued to prevent any future criminal proſecution from being admitted, unleſs commenced within ten years after the date of the charge. Equal humanity was ſhewn with reſpect to impriſoned debtors, who, under certain limitations, and in certain circumſtances, were releaſed from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were diſcharged from their bonds and obligations.

Thus Ruſſia enjoyed her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and ſplendid magnificence. All her affairs were conducted upon a great and extenſive ſyſtem; and all her acts were in a grand ſtyle. She ſat ſupreme between Europe and Aſia, and looked like the dictator of both. In her was ſeen a great but ſtill growing empire, which not having reached the ſummit of her deſtined power, felt life and vigour glowing in every part. The ſucceſſes and conſequences of the war enlarged the ſpirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In ſuch a ſtate every thing is bold and maſculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

If Catharine was able to do ſo much for the benefit of her country during ſuch turbulent times, what might not be expected of her in a period of peace?—She would, however, have performed much more, if even this period had been ſo calm as at firſt ſight it would appear. But it was not. If no war employed the empreſs to the detriment of her internal adminiſtration of government, yet foreign affairs attracted too much of her attention. There was no great tranſaction in which ſhe would not interfere; and in order to interfere with ſo much impreſſion, with ſo ſignificant an influence, as ſhe did, a great

great force muſt be kept up, and a ready participation conſtantly viſible in all the occurrences of Europe. She might have looked on with indifference when ambitious princes joſtled each other, or feeble governments were haſtening to their fall; but the former contended for her countenance, and the latter awakened in her the idea of ſtill adding to the territory of her prodigious empire. Alliances, guarantees, leagues, preparations, meaſures for attracting more reſpect, deciſive arbitrations, plans for future enterpriſes; in ſhort, every thing which the luſt of dominion can ſuggeſt, and in which policy can be employed, was the object of Catharine's mighty mind; which, ſecure from every power on the earth, could act in any voluntary direction. And even envy itſelf muſt confeſs, that ſhe performed her part in the grand drama of the world with a dignity never ſeen before:—here a kingdom was to be treated as a province of her dominions; there, an independent ſtate to be annihilated by a manifeſto: here bounds were to be ſet to the arrogance of a foreign potentate; there, a gigantic project to be conducted and advanced. All muſt allow, that ſhe was never forgetful of the intereſts of her empire: new life and improved organization ſprung up beneath her forming hand. But that outward

activity disturbed the fixed and steady view of the interior, and kindled at length a war, which though she again triumphantly concluded, yet unnecessarily emptied her exchequer, and wasted her army. Among her neighbours arose jealousy and the desire to hurt, which acquired the legitimate appearance of self-defence. Thus were brought together from all sides the embers of a dangerous combustion, while smiling fortune seemed preparing for the empire the blessings of peace.—Had Catharine shewn a generous scorn for foreign fame, and never engaged in a war; or, perhaps more properly, had never self-interest in the mask of flattery encompassed her throne; in all probability history would have had but one voice in extolling her as the model for sovereigns.

A politician of great sagacity *, in speaking of the commerce and wealth of Russia, said many years ago, "Nothing can be more preju-"dicial to this increase of wealth than foreign "wars, by which perhaps more hard money "goes out of the country than its mines and its "commerce produce. If, on the contrary, this "yearly national profit were employed on the

* M. von Struensee, in his "Account of the Commerce of the States of Europe," 1778, part i. p. 505.

"inner

" inner cultivation of the country, far greater " benefit would accrue, even for foreign com- " merce, than could be obtained by the moſt " brilliant conqueſts. Ruſſia ſhould avoid all " wars; and as, from her ſituation as well as by " her power, ſhe is ſafe from all attacks from " without, ſhe may eaſily avoid them. Ruſſia " ſhould, as little as poſſible, take any concern " in the foreign tranſactions and commerce of " the monarchs of Europe, and direct the whole " of its attention to the increaſe and extenſion of " its internal improvement. And though in that " caſe it is probable that not ſo much would be " read in the foreign gazettes and political pub- " lications about the ruſſian empire as at preſent; " yet, in return, the ruſſian ſubjects would obtain " a higher degree of proſperity and happineſs."

But what did not Alexander do, that the idlers in Athens might have ſomething to ſay of him? In nearly the ſame manner Catharine ſeemed afraid that Europe might forget her, nay, that the name of her empire would be expunged from the catalogue of its ſtates. She even thought it neceſſary, in the firſt paragraph of the firſt chapter of her ſo frequently mentioned " Inſtruction," to make the declaration, " Ruſſia is " an european power." Our quarter of the world had afterwards frequently occaſion enough

to

to remember that ſhe was a party concerned in it.

Poland had particular reaſon to know it to her coſt: and Germany now felt her influence in a more beneficial manner. Peter III. as duke of Holſtein, was a prince of the empire. The Gottorp diviſion bordered on the german territories of the king of Denmark: a renewal of the ancient feuds between theſe two kindred houſes threatened to break out: and no plan for an accommodation for the future could ever be brought properly to ſucceed. Catharine at length removed the difficulty, and for her very trifling relationſhip in a truly exalted manner. It likewiſe appeared to her, perhaps, unſuitable, that her ſon, now arrived at his majority, as heir to the imperial crown of Ruſſia, ſhould be at the ſame time an actually reigning prince in Germany *. In 1773, ſhe propoſed, in her ſon's name, an exchange with the houſe of Denmark, to which it readily agreed, whereby it was to receive the ducal portion † in return for the county of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt in the circle of Weſtphalia. Theſe latter, therefore, fell to the grand duke; who directly ceded them,

* See the genealogical tables in the foregoing volume, tab. ii. p. 60.

† Compriſing the city of Kiel, &c.

without

without compenſation, to the younger ſon of the Gottorp line, Frederic Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubek, by whoſe imbecil ſon, Peter Frederic William, they are now inherited. The two counties* are eſtimated at 45 ſquare geographical miles, containing 85,000 inhabitants, and yielding an annual revenue of 230,000 rixdollars. So diſintereſtedly did Catharine barter, ſo magnanimouſly did ſhe make preſents. The elder branch of the houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp therefore had no longer a ſeat among the princes of the german empire; but Catharine kept an ambaſſador at the diet of Ratiſbon, whoſe vote was certainly not without conſequence. The empreſs in 1779 ratified the peace of Teſchen concluded between Pruſſia and Auſtria under her guarantee; and more lately inſiſted on being regarded as guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia; and ſpoke in a very high tone in the laſt diet againſt France.

Nor was the empreſs leſs attentive, at this time, to the public internal ſecurity of the reſidence, and other parts of the empire. Of all political inſtitutions and eſtabliſhments, nothing has a nearer relation to the comfort and ſatisfaction of

* Converted into a dukedom by the emperor of Germany and the ſtates of the empire in 1776.

each

each individual, than the police. The reſpectable aim of this part of the adminiſtration of government, ſecurity and conveniency, are aſſociated in the grand idea of civil happineſs, without which no political happineſs is to be conceived. The relations with foreign powers, the riches of the ſtate, nay, even political liberty, are far more remotely related to the happineſs of the individual, as they rather concern the whole body of the nation; while the functions of the police relate exactly to thoſe duties which affect a man in his more delicate and tender connections, as a citizen, as a man of buſineſs, huſband, and father. There are countries in which the citizen, notwithſtanding the great weakneſs and inſignificancy of the body politic to which he belongs, or amid the moſt ſtriking infringements of political liberty, is happy, becauſe his civil ſecurity and liberty are guarded; as there are governments in which the greateſt national force and the completeſt political organization cannot compenſate the individual citizen for the defect or the loſs of a well-regulated police.

Civil ſecurity muſt preſuppoſe civil liberty: otherwiſe it would produce tranquillity indeed; but it would be like the tranquillity of the grave, the conſequences of which are foulneſs and corruption,

ruption. The former is the reſult of combined and artfully-connected aims; whereas the latter is the effect of one ſimple maxim. In a word, ſecurity is forced from the executive power, liberty may be granted.

The ſtate of civil ſecurity in every government is an explained problem; the laws, and the means of obtaining it, are objects of public notoriety. The ſtate of civil liberty can, in ſuch countries as have not a peculiar conſtitution, only be known from the combination of a great many particular facts, from the ſpirit of the government, from the temper of the people.

In a country which has not the leaſt ſhadow of a conſtitution, in which all the complicate relations of a great civil ſociety are aſcertained by particular, explicable, frequently contradictory ordinances, and theſe left to the arbitrary interpretation of particular courts; in ſuch a country, perſonal and civil ſecurity can neither be enjoyed as a matter lawfully or aſſuredly eſtabliſhed. In this ſituation was Ruſſia, previous to the reign of Peter the great. The variety of the ordinances of this monarch, far ſuperior to his contemporaries, ſhew that he was ſenſible of the want of a civil conſtitution, and the neceſſity of a perſonal ſecurity, ſettled and fixed by law. Much however as he did towards the

the attainment of this grand object, much ſtill remained for him to do. "A premature death "obliged him to abandon this ſalutary inſtitute, "while yet in its commencement. The fre- "quent revolutions which ſucceeded, the diver- "ſity of principles and opinions, the numerous "wars that happened, though they by no "means weakened the power and authority of "the empire, yet ſubjected the regulations of "this great emperor either to alterations, or to "a difference in the proſecution of the idea "of the work he had begun, or to the intro- "duction of other rules, which partly took their "direction by particular notions of the matter, "partly by the alteration of circumſtances and "the natural courſe of things*."

At length the genius of Ruſſia threw the fate of this great empire into the hands of Catharine II. The comprehenſive mind of this monarch, which had already been occupied in the extenſion and eſtabliſhment of its external force, in laying the foundations of a philoſophical ſyſtem of legiſlation, in the improvement of education, in the diffuſion of illumination and taſte, and in the reformation of numberleſs abuſes, and

* The words of Catharine II. See the ukauſe of the 12th of November 1775, which ſerves as an introduction to the regulation of the adminiſtration of government.

which had not yet exhauſted its energy on theſe grand objects, now formed a conſtitution for Ruſſia*.

The collection of ordinances out of which this conſtitution aroſe, breathe throughout that liberal philoſophical ſpirit, that reverence for mankind and their rights, and that mild, benign temper, equally removed from ſeverity and compliance, which mark the character of the lawgiver, and is its moſt venerable ſanction.

The preſervation and advancement of perſonal ſecurity cannot be the laſt object in a law-book of this nature. It provides a peculiar tribunal in the court of conſcience or the court of equity, which is eſtabliſhed in every government of the empire, and which has for its aim, according to the proper words of the ordinance, the preſervation of perſonal ſecurity, the mitigation of the lot of unhappy criminals, and the equitable ter-

* The ſucceſſive conſtitutions by which Ruſſia obtained an equal and regular diſtribution into vice-royalties, a like civil form, like courts and tribunals, a police, a municipality, ſpecific rights and relations of the middle rank and the nobility; in a word, a conſtitution, are the following:—Ordinances for the adminiſtration of government throughout the ruſſian empire.—Imperial regulation for the mercantile navigation on rivers, lakes, and ſeas.—Of nobility.—Municipality.—Regulations of police. They are tranſlated collectively into german by the court-counſellor Arndt.

mination

mination of all civil diſputes. The conſtitution of this highly remarkable inſtitute is too novel, too beneficial, and too little known, to render the omiſſion of a brief account of it pardonable in the preſent undertaking.

The court of conſcience conſiſts of a judge, who preſides, and of ſix members, of whom, every three years, two are elected from the claſs of burghers, and an equal number from the claſs of boors. Each rank has only to do with the accuſer and the accuſed of his rank. The court of conſcience pronounces, in general, according to the laws; but, as it is ordained to be a guard to particular or perſonal ſecurity, the rule preſcribed in all caſes is—general philanthropy, reſpect for man as ſuch, and averſion from all oppreſſion and injury of mankind. For theſe reaſons the court of conſcience muſt never add to the burdens of any man, but rather make it a duty conſcientiouſly to diſcuſs, and to decide with humanity, the cauſe before it. It muſt never meddle, of its own motion, in any matter, but take it up only from an order of the government, from the communication of another court of juſtice, or from petition and complaint. The caſes of ſuch criminals as, by ſome unhappy accident, or by the concurrence of various circumſtances, have fallen into guilt, whoſe

ſufferings

ſufferings far outweigh their demerit, the crimes of thoughtleſſneſs or early age, and all ſtories of witchcraft and conjuration, ariſing from ſtupidity, impoſture, and ignorance, belong to this tribunal. The duty of it, in civil cauſes, is to adjuſt the differences of contending parties who appeal to it for that purpoſe. The adjuſtment is to be made either by the court alone, or in conjunction with arbitrators, choſen by the two parties. If the arbitrators cannot agree together, then the court lays before them its opinion how the accuſer and the accuſed may be reconciled, without injury, without proceſs, controverſy, reciprocal reproach, and chicane. If the arbitrators cannot yet be brought to agreement, then the court orders the accuſer and accuſed to appear, and lays before them the means of accommodation. If they admit them, the court confirms their agreement with its ſeal of office: in the contrary caſe, it informs them that it has nothing farther to do with their diſpute, and that they may apply to the court appointed by law for that purpoſe.

The moſt important behoof of the court of conſcience, and by which it is in ſome meaſure the moſt venerable tribunal of the nation, and, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the palladium of perſonal ſecurity, conſiſts in this: when any one delivers

a petition to the court of conſcience, ſpecifying that he has been detained in priſon upwards of three days, and that in theſe three days it has not been ſhewn him why he is thus kept in priſon, or that in theſe three days he has not been interrogated, then the court of conſcience is bound, on receiving ſuch petition, and before the court breaks up, to iſſue an order, that the priſoner (if he be not impriſoned for offences againſt the perſon of the ſovereign, nor for treaſon, murder, theft, or robbery) be brought into the court of conſcience, and be ſhewn, adding the reaſons, why he is detained in arreſt, or why he has not been interrogated. The order of the court of conſcience in this caſe muſt be executed in the place at which it arrives, without loſing an hour; but if the order is not fulfilled within the ſpace of 24 hours, the preſident of the court ſhall be fined in the penalty of 500 rubles, and each of the aſſeſſors ſhall pay a fine of 100. In regard to local diſtance, 25 verſts are reckoned to a day.—If the court of conſcience finds that the priſoner has not been detained for any of the crimes above ſpecified, it iſſues an order to ſet him at liberty, on the receipt of that voucher, as well for his being brought forth as alſo for his preſentation before that court of the province which he ſhall chooſe,

and

and where his cauſe ſhall be adjudged. No one may pretend to put again in priſon him who has been liberated by authority of the court of conſcience, for their deciſion on the ſame matter: but his cauſe ſhall be determined by courſe of law. But in caſe the petitioner is in confinement on account of any of the before-mentioned crimes, or has impoſed upon the court of conſcience; or can bring no proof, the court of conſcience ſhall remand him to priſon, there to be kept more ſtrictly than before*.

Public ſecurity differs from perſonal, in its having a more general aim. The former is properly the object of the police; the latter is, in moſt countries, committed to the adminiſtration of juſtice.

In proportion to the bulk, extent, and population of Peterſburg, the public ſecurity is as great as any where. Robberies and murder are ſo ſeldom heard of, that all thought of danger is entirely baniſhed. Accordingly, people walk alone, without any weapon or attendance, at all hours of the night, along the ſtreets, and even in the remoteſt, moſt unfrequented, and even uninhabited parts of the town. This fact, extra-

* See Gemælde von St. Peterſburg, by the ingenious M. Heinrich Storch, for theſe and ſeveral other particulars.

ordinary in ſuch circumſtances, is, however, not ſo much the conſequence of a well-organized and vigilant police, as the effect of the good-tempered national character. The common Ruſſian, if not corrupted by a long ſtay in the reſidence, ſeduced by the propenſion to drink, or preſſed by extreme want, is ſeldom diſpoſed to exceſſes of this nature. To this may be added a certain reverence towards the ſuperior ranks, which, from the ſentiment of their vaſſalage, and from the way in which they are brought up, is peculiar to this people. This is ſo well-known, that it is no uncommon thing to put an officer's cockade in the hat as a ſure means of defence againſt any attack a man might otherwiſe be liable to at ſuch times as the populace are accuſtomed to think they have the privilege of being intoxicated, and conſequently are more prone to commit acts of extravagance. An authoritative word, ſpoken in a commanding tone, has frequently more effect than the ſtouteſt oaken ſtaff. In order to employ this method with impreſſion, it is neceſſary indeed to be able to ſpeak the language with fluency; but any one who has that advantage, and is familiar with the manners and the character of the nation, may at any time, in caſes of extremity, excite the good nature of the populace, and ſave his purſe or his

life

life from any hoſtile attack. Among ſeveral inſtances afforded by experience of this, one may ſuffice.

A lady ſome years ago travelled up the country. Her road led through a village which had lately got an ill name for robberies and murders, and indeed was become formidable to the whole diſtrict. By ſome unforeſeen circumſtances, her arrival at this place was delayed till the night was ſomewhat advanced; and as the poſt-boors abſolutely refuſed to drive her any further, ſhe was obliged to put up at a cottage. A converſation between her driver and ſome people of the village, which by favour of the darkneſs ſhe happened to overhear, juſtly filled her with ſerious alarm. On entering the cottage, ſhe perceived ſeveral fellows, according to the cuſtom of the country, lying on the ſtove. An old woman, whoſe phyſiognomy was not exactly adapted to inſpire confidence, accoſted her with the queſtion, why ſhe had heſitated to paſs the night in that village, whether it was becauſe ſhe ſuſpected that ſhe might not be ſafe in her houſe? and ſwore, at the ſame time, that there was not a man in it. The traveller, from long experience being well acquainted with the character of the nation, took care not to confute this lie; on the contrary, ſhe diſplayed the moſt

perfect confidence, ſat down with the utmoſt compoſure to take ſome refreſhment, brought out a bottle of brandy from her caſe in the ſledge, called down the fellows that were lying on the ſtove, and divided its contents among them. This behaviour, the bottle of brandy, and the friendly looks of the donor, had their due effect: the ſlumbering but not ſtifled ſentiment of humanity awoke; and the good-natured, careleſs, and joyful humour, which is ſo peculiar to the common Ruſſians, ſoon broke out in noiſy ſongs. The traveller, ſeeing that ſhe had attained her aim, laid herſelf down to ſleep in an adjacent room, in all appearance without any diſtruſt, forbad her ſervants to bring the baggage and arms into the houſe, and even put out the light. At break of day ſhe found a ruſſian breakfaſt prepared, and her carriage ready for her farther progreſs. Her departure from this band of robbers was a moral caricature of a moſt ſingular nature. With the confeſſion of their criminal way of life, ſhe at the ſame time received from theſe people the aſſurance, that ſhe and all paſſengers that ſhould make uſe of her name, ſhould be well received, and be lodged in ſafety: a promiſe which was accompanied with the rude but undiſguiſed teſtimony of a hearty affection.

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The police of St. Peterſburg has a very ſimple and competent organization. Excepting the governor, whoſe office naturally extends to all objects of public welfare, the head police-maſter is the proper chief of the whole ſyſtem of police. His office takes in the great compaſs of this department, but confined to the general objects of public ſecurity and order. He is not here, as in ſome large towns, the formidable co-partner of family ſecrets, and the inviſible witneſs of the actions of the private man. Here are no ſpies, nor ought there to be, if Monteſquieu be in the right*.

Under the head police-maſter is the police-office, where ſit a police-maſter, two preſidents, the one for criminal, the other for civil caſes, and two conſultors choſen from the burgher claſs. To this is committed the care to maintain decorum, good order, and morals: alſo it is its buſineſs to ſee to the obſervance of the laws, that the orders iſſued by government, and the deciſions of the courts of juſtice, are put in force. The attainment of theſe purpoſes is effected by the following mechaniſm:

* "Faut-il des eſpions dans la monarchie? Ce n'eſt pas "la pratique des bons princes."—Eſprit des Loix, I. xii. chap. 25.

The reſidence is divided into ten departments. Each of theſe has a preſident, appointed to watch over the laws, the ſecurity, and the order of his diſtrict. The duties and rights of this office are not leſs extenſive than important. A preſident muſt have exact knowledge of the inhabitants of his department, over which a ſort of parental authority is committed to him; he is the *cenſor morum* of his department; his houſe muſt not be bolted or barred by night or day, but muſt be a place of refuge continually open to all that are in danger or diſtreſs; he himſelf may not quit the town for the ſpace of two hours, without committing the diſcharge of his office to ſome other perſon. The police-commando (conſtables), and the watchmen of his department, are under his orders; and he is attended on all affairs of his office by two ſerjeants. Complaints againſt unjuſt behaviour in the preſidents may be brought to the police-office.

Each department is again divided into three, four, or five ſubdiviſions, called quarters, of which, in the whole reſidence, are two and forty. Each of theſe has a quarter-inſpector, in ſubordination to whom is a quarter-lieutenant. The duty of theſe police-officers is in harmony with that of the preſident, only that their activity is confined to a ſmaller circle. They ſettle

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low affairs and ſlight altercations on the ſpot, and keep a watchful eye on all that paſſes.

The number of the nightly watch in the city amounts to 500. They have their ſtations aſſigned them in watch-houſes at the corners of ſtreets; and, beſides their proper deſtination, are to aſſiſt in the taking up of offenders, and in any ſervice by day or night, as their commanders ſhall require. Beſides theſe, for the execution of the police orders, and to act as patroles, there is alſo a commando of 120 men, who, in caſes of emergency, are ſupported by a pulk or company of kozaks, or a regiment of huſſars.

This machine, conſiſting of ſo many ſubordinate parts, preſerves in its orderly courſe that ſecurity and peace which excite the admiration of all foreigners. The activity of every individual member is unobſerved in the operation of the whole; and by ſuch a diſtribution alone is the attainment of ſo complicated an aim practicable.—All the quarter-inſpectors of a department repair every morning, at ſeven o'clock, to their inſpector's houſe, to lay before him the report of all that has happened in their quarters during the laſt four and twenty hours; and at eight o'clock all the inſpectors bring together theſe ſeveral reports into the police office, whereupon they firſt and immediately take into examination

mination the caſes of perſons taken into cuſtody during the night. On urgent occaſions the police-office aſſembles at all hours.

This organization, and the extraordinary vigilance of the police, which is found competent to the buſineſs of a numerous and reſtleſs people, render all ſecret inquiſitions unneceſſary. The police has knowledge of all perſons in the reſidence; travellers who come and go are ſubject to certain formalities, which render it extremely difficult to conceal their place of abode, or their departure from the city. To this end, every houſeholder and innkeeper is obliged to declare to the police who lodges with him, or what ſtrangers have put up at his houſe. If a ſtranger or lodger ſtays out all night, the landlord muſt inform the police of it at lateſt on the third day of his abſence from his houſe. The cautionary rules with regard to travellers quitting the town, are ſtill more ſtrict. Theſe muſt publiſh in the news-paper their name, their quality, and their place of abode, three ſeveral times, and produce the news-papers containing the advertiſement, as a credential in the government from which they then receive their paſſport, without which it is next to impoſſible to get out of the empire. This regulation not only ſecures the creditor of the perſon

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about to depart, but alſo enables the police to keep a cloſer inſpection over all ſuſpected inhabitants.

The great mixture of foreign inhabitants of all nations renders this inſpection at all times, but eſpecially at certain critical periods, highly neceſſary. There are always, in large populous towns, diſorderly people, adventurers and impoſtors, who, by bold projects, by an infamous induſtry, or by criminal ſtratagems and tricks, ſeek occaſion to ſeek the diſquiet of civil ſociety, or to rifle the purſes of the public. The lenity of the government, the hoſpitable reception every honeſt ſtranger here enjoys, the eaſy and various means of gaining a livelihood, and the unlimited permiſſion attended with ſo many difficulties in other countries, of purſuing them in a lawful way, without diſtinction of nation or religious profeſſion;—all theſe and other advantages are, however, not always ſufficient to reſtrain ſuch people within the bounds of propriety and decorum.

If individuals may be ſuſpected by the government, becauſe their means of ſupport, the company they keep, and the whole courſe of action, are cloſely wrapped up in myſtery, ſo likewiſe may whole ſocieties be leſs indifferent to it, if they carefully conceal the object of their connec-

connection, or their very exiſtence, from the eye of the public. The police watches here, with laudable attention, over ſecret ſocieties of all kinds; and frequently as the fanatical ſpirit of religious or political ſectaries, or the enthuſiaſm of pretended myſtagogues, have attended to neſtle here, they have never been able to proceed, or only for a very ſhort time. Animal magnetiſm, Martiniſm, Roſycrutianiſm, and by whatever other name the conceits of diſtempered imaginations may be called, have always been attended with the ſame bad ſucceſs on this ſtage.

With equal diligence the police ranſacks the blind purlieus of ſuch as have an averſion to honeſt induſtry, and are attracted by the thirſt of gain. If the ramparts of civil liberty prevent the police from having recourſe to extreme meaſures for quelling the rage of gaming, yet great difficulties and obſtacles are oppoſed to the propagation and extenſion of this dreadful political evil. By the police regulation only ſuch games are allowed as require bodily exertion and dexterity, or conſiſt of a due proportion of hazard and ſkill. The nicer explanations on this latter are reſerved for the laws. Concerning prohibited games, the police muſt have regard to the motives of the gameſters. All complaints

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and demands relative to play-debts, and the payment of them, are declared null. That no lotteries are permitted throughout the whole ruſſian empire is well known.

From this ſketch it will be readily imagined, that the number of impoſtors and diſturbers of the public peace can be but ſmall. Quarrels and affrays in the ſtreet or in the cabaks but ſeldom happen. The perſon attacked calls the neareſt watchman; and in a moment both the aggreſſor and the aggrieved are taken into cuſtody, and led to the next ſieja, (police watch-houſe,) where the cauſe of their quarrel is inquired into, and the aggreſſor is puniſhed.—For matters of ſome deſcriptions, there is a peculiar tribunal, under the denomination of the oral court, which, on account of its ſingularity, deſerves to be briefly noticed.

In each quarter of the town are one or more judges of the oral court, who are choſen from the claſs of burghers, and with whom are aſſociated a few jurats. This court ſits daily in the forenoon, and proceeds orally in all the differences that come before it: it, however, keeps a day-book, in which are entered all the cauſes and deciſions of the court, and which muſt be every week laid before the magiſtrate. When a charge is brought, the court declares it orally

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to the preſident of the quarter: whereupon the accuſed muſt not delay his appearance before the police longer than one day after he has received the ſummons. Every cauſe muſt be determined in one day, or if the examinations require more time in collecting, in three days. The oral court communicates the deciſion to the preſident of the quarter by means of his day-book, in order to its ratification. If either party is not ſatisfied with the ſentence, he may appeal to the court as appointed in the regulations.

The immenſe circulation occaſioned by the neceſſaries and luxuries of the reſidence might provide a greater number of people with the means of ſubſiſtence. The growing increaſe of the town, and the great undertakings of the government, which here unite as in one large central point, employ as many hands as are to be had, and would employ more; the facility, therefore, with which work is to be found, and the high price of labour, leave idleneſs and indigence without excuſe. And indeed no beggars are ſeen here, unleſs one ſhould give that name to a few children who here and there run about, and aſk for a poluſhka. Old, infirm diſtempered people, and ſimilar objects of diſguſt, are abſolutely not permitted to follow begging. For the really poor, and perſons incapable of earning

earning their bread, a poor-houſe is provided, and maintained upon an excellent plan; but for the induſtrious who look out for work, and the idlers that are able to work, the following uſeful and ſalutary regulations are made:

In purſuance of the police ordinance of the year 1782, ſervant-brokers (or, as we ſhould ſay, regiſter-offices) are appointed, where every day, at certain hours, people who ſeek ſervice or work, as well as maſters who want ſervants, may apply. The broker is bound to enter in his book the name, the time, and the requiſites or propoſals of the ſeveral perſons who apply, as alſo the terms of the contract; which book is taken as evidence in caſe diſputes ſhould afterwards ariſe. In order to induce the public to benefit by this inſtitution of ſuch general utility, it is at the ſame time ordained, that the oral court and the police-office ſhall admit of no complaint between maſter and ſervant, if the contract cannot be produced in the broker-book; but ſervants and workmen who neglect to apply to the broker, are driven out of the town and the diſtrict.

The work-houſe of the reſidence takes in not only ſuch people as would willingly work, and find no employment, but is chiefly filled with idlers, vagrants, diſorderly perſons, ſturdy beggars,

gars, and thieves who have not ſtolen above the value of 20 rubles. As ſuch a conjunction of crimes with helpleſs induſtry is contrary to the maxims of an enlightened police, ſo this inſtitution, according to its original deſtination, was dedicated only to the latter. But becauſe, either from prejudices formed againſt the inſtitution, or becauſe, as it is moſt reaſonable to think, there is a ſuperfluity of means of livelihood, but very few ſuch perſons are found, this inſtitution is almoſt entirely confined to forced workmen. The ſuperintendance of it belongs to the college of general proviſion, who, therefore, ſettle the mode and meaſure of employment according to the ſex, the age, and the bodily frame of each. It is likewiſe permitted to private perſons to ſend their ſervants hither for puniſhment; in this caſe, however, they muſt pay three kopeeks a day for each perſon's board, in addition to the profit on their labour, to the inſtitution. On an average about 800 perſons are kept here annually. A ſmall hoſpital, connected with this inſtitution had, on the 1ſt of January 1790, 107 patients of both ſexes.

For criminals condemned to labour by the laws, there is a houſe of correction. This is likewiſe under the management of the college of general proviſion, which endeavours to make the

the penal labour of theſe people, particularly in regard to manufactures, uſeful to the ſtate. In purſuance of an ordinance of government the houſe of correction is deſtined for the following deſcriptions of civil and moral offenders; for children who are diſobedient to their parents, or habitually purſue bad courſes; for people who having run out their circumſtances, have contracted twice as many debts as they have the means to pay, or are guilty of ſcandalous breaches of decorum; for perſons who publicly follow a courſe of life which is contrary to ſound morals and the regulations of a good police; for worthleſs and lazy rogues and vagabonds; for ſtout and obſtinate vagrants and beggars; laſtly, for women who lead a ſcandalous, impudent, and profligate life.—Offenders of theſe kinds are put into the houſe of correction, either in purſuance of the ſentence of a court of judicature, or at the requeſt of parents, preſidents, or maſters, though not without evidence wherefore. Here alſo private perſons muſt pay a ſlight allowance, as in the work-houſe. The men are ſeparated from the women; and all the people confined muſt be called only by their chriſtian names. The obſtinate and refractory may be chaſtiſed, by order of the head overſeer, by beating, or puniſhed by being ſhut up and kept on bread

and water. The annual number of perſons under correction here is between 7 and 900.

Theſe inſtitutions, into which the reſidence diſcharges all its ſluggiſh, foul, and infectious parts, as into a receiver, ſtand in ſo cloſe a connection with the priſons of the courts of judicature, that it would render this account incomplete, to omit the mention of them here.

The new town-jail, which, as far as practicable, is conſtructed and diſpoſed upon Mr. Howard's plan, conſiſts of a large, ſtrong-built pentagon edifice, of two ſtories. Outwardly it has no windows, and only one gate, which is of iron; each of the five angles is terminated by a tower, which riſes above the roof, and ſerves as a magazine. Each ſtory has only one ſuite of chambers, all opening into a covered gallery. The rooms are diſſimilar in ſize, but are fitted up in exactly the ſame manner. The windows are all placed high; each cell is provided with a cubic ſtove, a ſmall table and ſeat of maſonry, an iron outer door, and in the wall a water-cloſet. In the open place which forms the area of the building, is a ſmaller priſon of the ſame ſhape with the larger, which, with cells of a like conſtruction with the others, contains a chapel, a comptoir, a guard-houſe, and a chamber of correction. The remaining ſpace, in breadth about

about ſix fathom, is left for indulging the priſoners in the benefit of taking the air. The whole building has hitherto continued quite empty.

Of the other jails, which are only three, that of the police is the moſt remarkable. This houſe, which is commonly called the Politzey, becauſe here the chancery of it was formerly held, is at preſent the principal place of detention for all delinquents that come within the cognizance of the police. Accordingly, here are kept, previous to their trial, fraudulent inſolvents and bankrupts, ſwindlers, gameſters, bullies, cheats, thieves, and fanatics of all chriſtian ſects, and of all nations in motley mixture. This ſtrange collection of beings is productive of no leſs ſingular effects. The rich purchaſe accommodations of the poor; the cunning overreach the ſimple; ſeparated from all human ſociety, a ſort of petty republic is formed within theſe walls, in which the two grand levers of human activity, indigence and paſſion, play their part as well as without them. Thus, a few years ago, an inhabitant of this manſion picked up money by the myſteries of an order of which he was a member, by admitting, for a ſmall reception-fee, a conſiderable number of worthy proſelytes. Another had been favoured

with the permiſſion to ſeparate his ſleeping-place by a ſcreen, where he lived in company with his ſerfs, who, by the duties of their vaſſalage, were obliged to follow him into this abode. Here he gave a friendly reception to all comers, whoſe looks and dreſs ſeemed promiſing, and drew from them what money they had, either at cards, or by giving them a goblet or two of ſtrong punch, with ſuch artifice that never any got out of his clutches without leaving behind them, in his lurking corner, whatever they had, and ſometimes even a part of their clothes.—This houſe, which ſeems to harbour within its walls only vice and criminality, at times alſo exhibits ſome noble inſtance of human action, as a few ſcattered rays are ſeen to mingle in the gloomy colours of a painted night-piece. Not for the purpoſe of relieving the ſhades, but as a ſmall memorial of an unknown generous action, the following anecdote may here be permitted to find a place.

A young german nobleman, who had for a long time indulged himſelf in the uſual follies of his age with the utmoſt thoughtleſſneſs and extravagance, was put into the politzey by his creditors. In this deplorable ſituation, abandoned by all his former acquaintance, a damſel of the common claſs, who had ſhared his purſe in better days,

days, remained true to him. She followed him to priſon, waited on him with unwearied care during a violent illneſs with which he was attacked, ſupplied him with all kinds of neceſſaries, ſold, when all her money was gone, what furniture and clothes ſhe had, and at length went about begging for her unfortunate friend. At the end of eleven months, when he was releaſed by death from this unhappy condition, ſhe cauſed him to be decently interred with the remainder of the alms ſhe had procured, and then—conſented to the offer of marriage long ago made her by a man in good circumſtances, with whom ſhe might have enjoyed the conveniences and pleaſures of life, and which ſhe had hitherto refuſed only becauſe ſhe thought it diſhonourable to forſake her firſt lover in his diſtreſs. This circumſtance ſhe mentioned to her huſband previous to their marriage.

Great as the ſecurity of the city is in regard to acts of open violence, yet it is neceſſary for every one to be upon his guard againſt artful impoſtures and deep-laid ſtratagems. The frequent inſtances of this kind make every Ruſſian wary, and therefore they are not ſo eaſily made the dupes of their countrymen; but ſo much the more do they make up for this at the expence of ſtrangers and foreigners, parti-

cularly when they are not acquainted with the language of the country. The ſhopkeepers and merchants commonly aſk three times, and frequently even five times as much as the commodity is worth; the unknowing offer the half, and think they have made a good bargain, till they find, when too late, that they have been miſerably cheated. To give damaged goods a fair appearance, to defraud in meaſure and weight in an imperceptible manner, to ſlip bad goods among the better that have been bought and ordered home; all theſe, and a multitude of other tricks, no dealers in the world underſtand better than the ruſſian. As the Ruſſians in general are ſurpriſingly cunning and of quick parts, they are eminently addicted to this ſpecies of induſtry; and the pickpockets of St. Peterſburg and Moſco may ſafely lay wagers on their dexterity with thoſe of London and Paris.

Some time ſince the following affair happened at Moſco, which excited great curioſity both there and at the reſidence; and, on account of its originality, deſerves to be noticed while we are on this ſubject. A wealthy nobleman, well known as a fancier of precious ſtones, fell accidentally in company with a perſon unknown to him, who wore on his finger a ring of great beauty and value. After a long diſcourſe on its

real

real worth, the nobleman offered him a conſiderable price for it, which the ſtranger at firſt refuſed, on the reaſonable ground that he had no deſire to part with it. At length, however, to evade the repeated importunities of the nobleman, he declared that he could not ſell it, becauſe—the ſtones were not genuine. This declaration filled all the company, among whom were connoiſſeurs, with amazement. The nobleman, in order to be ſure of the matter, deſired to have the ring for a few days againſt ſufficient ſecurity, received it, and ran from one jeweller to another, who all unanimouſly pronounced the ſtones to be genuine, and of great value. With this aſſurance, and the hope of a good bargain, he brought back the ring to its owner, who, on receiving it, put it, with great indifference, into his waiſtcoat pocket. The negotiation now began afreſh: the ſtranger perſiſted in his reſolution, till at length the nobleman offered a ſum which was pretty near the true value of it. "This ring," returned the ſtranger, "is a token of friendſhip; but I am "not rich enough to reject ſo large a ſum as "you offer for it. Yet this high offer is the "very reaſon of my not complying. How can "you, if you are thoroughly conſcious of what "you are doing, offer ſo much money for a "ring, which the owner himſelf confeſſes to be

" made up of falſe ſtones?"—" If your deter-
" mination depends only on that," replied the buyer, " here take at once the ſum," (laying it in bank-notes upon the table,) " and I call the " gentlemen here preſent to witneſs, that I vo-
" luntarily, and after due conſideration, pay it." The ſeller took the money, and gave the nobleman the ring, repeating the declaration, that the ſtones were falſe, and that it was ſtill time to make the bargain void. The latter obſtinately refuſed to hearken to his advice, haſtened joyfully home, and found—what the reader has already gueſſed—that the ſtranger had ſaid what was too true. Inſtead of the genuine ring, he had a falſe one made exactly like the other. The affair was brought into a court of juſtice; but, as the ſeller proved, that during the whole buſineſs there was no queſtion at all about genuine ſtones; that the purchaſer expreſsly treated only for a falſe ring, and he on the other hand ſold him only a falſe ring; accordingly the judge was obliged to pronounce in favour of the latter.

The arts of cheating in the article of proviſions are no where better underſtood than here. Ordinary deceptions of this nature happen every where; but when one looks at a fowl, which to all appearance is finely fattened, and finds it only filled with wind; or aſparagus, deprived of their eatable part, pointed again, and coloured with a

tempting

tempting verdure; no man will call theſe ordinary tricks.

A lady, who had not been long come out of Germany, and had heard much from her acquaintance at Peterſburg of the many artifices of that nature practiſed in that city, took the reſolution to uſe the utmoſt caution in all her dealings, in order to refute the common opinion, that every ſtranger muſt buy his wiſdom. Several days paſſed on: one morning, however, a raſnoſchtſchik * entered her apartment, and offered her a pound of tea, the laſt remains of what he had to ſell. She weighed the parcel, and found it juſt: ſhe made a trial; the tea was unadulterated, and well flavoured: ſhe ſhook it all out into a baſin; no deceit was diſcoverable. She inquired the price, and offered a third part of what he aſked: the vender was naturally not ſatisfied with this offer; turned his tea back again into the box, wrapped a cloth about it, and crammed it into his boſom. At length the bargain was ſtruck, and the commodity delivered; however, prudence does no harm; the lady opened the box, and ſaw the tea ſhe had bought. She ſhut it up, to the great joy of the

* Raſnoſchtſchiks are venders of ſmall articles about the ſtreets.

ſeller,

ſeller, who in the mean time had aſked her, ſmiling, why ſhe was ſo extremely cautious, and why ſhe had ſo very bad an opinion of his honeſty. The money was paid; the raſnoſcht-ſchik went his way; and ſome days after the box was found full of ſand and grains, excepting the ſurface, which was really good tea.

Matters of this kind are frequent in all great towns, where the numerous population renders every detection more difficult, and the diſtance and difference between the circumſtances of fortune rouſe the paſſions, and urge the human intellect to every ſpecies of induſtry. The height of civilization and refinement, as well as the extreme of immorality and corruption, are only to be looked for in towns of the firſt magnitude. The means to prevent theſe evils are not in the hands of the police; no human invention can hinder an effect where the cauſe is natural; and to remove this, we muſt follow the plan of the philoſophers, who baniſh the human race into foreſts and mountains, where the greateſt integrity reſides with the greateſt brutality.

The public ſecurity is not only brought into jeopardy by human attacks of fraud and violence: Nature alſo ſeems at times to have conſpired againſt it. The reſults of the grand, eternal, and

and beneficent laws, by which ſhe acts upon the whole, are nevertheleſs very frequently deſtructive to the parts; and man, by an inexplicable decree, is obliged to arm himſelf, as againſt an aſſaſſin, even againſt Nature, from whoſe hand he receives his being, his ſupport, and his enjoyments. The natural and accidental violations of public ſecurity are therefore not leſs an important object of police. An accurate detail of all the particular inſtitutions to this end would lie beyond the limits of this book. The following inſtance, drawn from the whole, will ſuffice as a characteriſtic of this department of the police of St. Peterſburg.

That city, from its ſituation at the mouth of a large navigable river, is very often expoſed to inundations. On a continuance of weſterly winds the water riſes to the height of ten feet above its ordinary level. At five feet it overflows only the weſtern parts of the town, in places where the Neva has no rampart; but on a ſwell of the water to ten feet, only the eaſternmoſt parts eſcape a general inundation. In the year 1777, on Sunday the 10th of September, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the water roſe to the height of ten feet ſeven inches above its uſual level; and though in two hours afterwards it had again retired within its banks, yet this

ſhort

ſhort inundation produced very extraordinary effects. A ſhip from Lubeck was carried into the wood on Vaſſili-oſtroff; the ducheſs of Kingſton's famous yacht, which ſhe had quitted a few days before, was caſt upon the bar, and greatly damaged; many wooden houſes were waſhed away; and ſeveral perſons had loſt their lives during the obſcurity of the night.

Since this remarkable inundation proper meaſures of prudence and caution have been adopted. For ſeveral years the height of the water had been regularly marked at the caſtle. Now, at all riſings of the river, ſignals were appointed at the admiralty, as a warning to the inhabitants. Whenever it riſes above its banks at the mouth of the great Neva, notice is given to the town by three diſtinct firings of a cannon, which are repeated at intervals, as the danger increaſes. Within the town, in this caſe, five cannons are fired from the admiralty-battery, and on the ſteeple of it by day four white flags are diſplayed, and by night four lanterns are hung out; and at the ſame time the church-bells are ſlowly tolled. In places moſt expoſed to the inundation, veſſels are kept in readineſs for ſaving the people. Theſe regulations, the increaſing buildings, the embanking, and the magnificent ſtone quay of the Neva, and the extenſion of the water-ſurface by the

the various canals, render theſe weſtern gales leſs alarming to the inhabitants of St. Peterſburg; ſo that a ſwell of five feet above the level now excites but little or even no attention.

Alſo the danger of depredation by fires is no longer ſo great as formerly, as the number of wooden houſes viſibly diminiſhes; and the regulations for extinguiſhing the fires and the ſaving of property are better and more complete. For this purpoſe the police keeps in its pay ten firemaſters and 1622 men, who are employed ſolely to this object. Calamities of this nature are at preſent but ſeldom heard of; and when they happen, it is commonly in the out-lying parts of the town, where the houſes are moſtly of timber, and very old. During the laſt ſeven years, in the better ſtreets, never more than one houſe is burnt down, and even this is generally of wood. The people of the police are become ſo dexterous, that at one of the laſt accidents to which the author of this account was a witneſs, a ſmall wooden houſe that ſtood contiguous to the one on fire, was ſo perfectly preſerved, that it received not the ſlighteſt damage. At the imperial loan bank, is an inſurance-office, where one and a half *per cent.* is paid on three fourths of the annual rate at which the houſe or fabric is taxed.

Though

Though quick driving along the ſtreets is forbidden, yet from various cauſes it is impoſſible entirely to prevent it; and, for the following reaſons, it is no where attended with leſs danger than at St. Peterſburg. All the ſtreets are broad and ſpacious: their running in ſtraight lines enables the driver to ſee a long way before him; in many of the ſtreets is a raiſed footway, which ſecures the pedeſtrian from danger. Beſides, the Ruſſians are excellent coachmen; and, as they are anſwerable for every accident occaſioned by their negligence or want of ſkill, they not only call out to the foot-paſſengers, while at ſome diſtance, but even turn off in caſes of neceſſity. The manner of their calling too is almoſt always appropriate: for example, "Old gentleman! Good mother! Soldier! Fiſh-crier!" &c. Not only here, but throughout all Ruſſia, it is the univerſal cuſtom, in driving, to keep the right ſide of the way; hence the perpetual cry in the ſtreets: "Na prava!" *i. e.* "To the right!" Whoever goes contrary to this cuſtom, is in danger of being chaſtiſed on the ſpot, or at leaſt of receiving a volley of abuſe.

On all occaſions when a great number of people or equipages are collected together, the police-officers muſt be preſent, who, by the aſſiſtance of ſoldiers or kozaks on horſeback, keep

keep ſuch good order, that one ſeldom or never hears of an accident. At the theatres, at court, at the clubs, eſpecially at the entertainments given in the palaces, and at promenades on certain feſtivals, there are frequently ſeveral thouſands of carriages and an immenſe multitude of people on foot: the former obſerve exactly certain rules preſcribed, and the latter may be preſent without the leaſt danger, even from the tumultuous rabble. He muſt indeed be a very partial obſerver, who does not take notice of this extraordinary vigilance and caution, which is always admired by foreigners. At every entertainment, every public dinner in the town, on every occaſion where the number of carriages is ſomewhat conſiderable, the police-officers are immediately there, for the preſervation of order and the prevention of accidents. On the bridges acroſs the Neva ſome of them are conſtantly preſent, as there the throng of paſſengers is uncommonly great. The ſame care is taken concerning dangerous ſcaffolds at buildings and at the diverſions of the populace. The ice-hills and other national ſports would certainly coſt many people their lives, were it not for theſe good regulations, by which, however, accidents cannot at all times be prevented; and therefore the government is gradually endeavouring

ing to aboliſh them by limiting the period of their duration. The freezing and breaking-up of the ice of the Neva may be dangerous to the public ſecurity; therefore, on theſe occaſions too, the proper cautionary regulations are not forgotten. As ſoon as the ice begins to be porous and unſafe, care is taken to break it near the ſhores, to prevent paſſengers from getting upon it; and notices are ſtruck upon poſts for the ſame purpoſe. Beſides theſe precautions, the ſoldiers of the police are at theſe times continually preſent, who are frequently obliged to reſtrain by force the fool-hardy populace from venturing their lives for a trifling wager. The writer of this account was himſelf an eye-witneſs of ſuch a man, at the moſt imminent hazard of his life, walking over the porous, deep-grey coloured ice of the river, which is as broad as the Thames at London-bridge, by means of a couple of boards which he took with him, laying the one at the end of the other alternately as he paſſed over them, often ſparing himſelf this trouble, on feeling that a piece of the ice would juſt bear his weight without it. In this manner, in the preſence of hundreds of ſpectators, he was got near the oppoſite ſhore, when a police-officer ſtanding there, ſeeing him coming, held up his ſtick, threatening to give

him a hearty welcome with it on his reaching the land. The apprehenſion of this ſlight chaſtiſement outweighed the fear for his life; he forgot the precaution he had before obſerved, his boards and his danger; ran back as faſt as he could, and ſafely arrived on the other ſhore.

The making up and the ſending out of medicines from the ſhops of the apothecaries by careleſs or wicked ſervants may ſo eaſily give occaſion to dreadful misfortunes or crimes, that particular prudential regulations are thought neceſſary in this reſpect here. Every recipè muſt not only be ſigned with the name of the phyſician who preſcribes it, but muſt alſo mention the patient for whom it is preſcribed, with the day of the month and the year. To the medicine a label is affixed, mentioning, beſides this date, the price of the medicine, and the name of the apothecary and his ſhop. But the beſt regulation is, that each, even the moſt ſimple medicine muſt be ſealed. All phyſicians, ſurgeons, and midwives, who intend to practiſe in the ruſſian empire, muſt undergo an examination at the college of medicine, which then grants them a licence; and this licence muſt be publiſhed in the gazette.

Her majeſty's care for the public ſecurity extended alſo to the paſſing of laws and regulations for the prevention of dangerous and contagious diſeaſes, to the inſpection of damaged proviſions, and a multitude of ordinances of like nature; but moſt of them ſo much reſemble what are met with in other countries, that it would be needleſs to give a particular account of them. This ſubject then may properly be concluded by noticing one of the moſt important and intereſting of all the regulations that belong to the general ſyſtem of police.

The reader will recollect, that the publication and enforcement of the decrees of the ſovereign, according to the before-mentioned Inſtruction, is one of the primary duties of the police-office. For the exerciſe of it the following remarkable form was preſcribed by Catharine II. Whenever a law, promulgated by the autocratic authority, and ſubſcribed by her imperial majeſty's own hand, or an ordinance from the places conſtituted for that purpoſe, is ſent to the police-office, it muſt be entered in the proper books, when, whence, and how it received this law. If it be ſent for publication, then the crown-advocate of the police-office is to be called, and his legal opinion taken:

if

if there appear then any doubtful point, it must be represented in the place appointed; but if no doubt arise, then a resolution must be made concerning its publication. This done, the law must first be read in the assembly of the members of the police-office, then with open doors at the president of the quarter's house, and at the quarter-inspector's; and hereupon the publication is performed.

The foregoing facts will probably be sufficient for giving some adequate notion of the state of the police in the residence, which, for the form and method, is the same in all the towns throughout the empire; and, at the same time, will serve to shew the spirit which actuated the institutions for which the empire is indebted to Catharine II.

Are you, Mr Tooke, writing a review of St P. or the life of Catharine 2?

Do D. Daw

Mr Tooke is writing a book and must fill up three volumes —

CHAP. IX.

Potemkin becomes favourite.—His exile.—His recall.—Manner of inſtalling and diſmiſſing favourites.—Journey to Moſco.—Pilgrimage.—Potemkin ſtrives to induce the empreſs to marry him.—Marſhal Romantzoff comes to Moſco.—Regulations and edicts for the adminiſtration of the empire.—The Ruſſians enter the Krimea.—Election of khan Sahim Gueray.—Zavodoffsky becomes favourite.—Death of the grand duke's firſt conſort.—Second journey of prince Henry of Pruſſia to St. Peterſburg.—Journey of the grand duke to Berlin.—His ſecond marriage.—Zoritch obtains the place of favourite.—Tranſactions of the years 1774, 1775, 1776.

GREGORY ORLOFF had been reinſtated in the place of favourite only from motives of policy. Policy may feign a paſſion, but cannot command it. Catharine affected to have for her former lover ſentiments which ſhe no longer felt. She was laviſh of her flatteries and kindneſſes, but ſhe could not reſtore him the poſſeſſion of her heart. The prince was therefore miſtaken in imagining himſelf to be the ſole cauſe of the diſmiſſion of Vaſſiltſchikoff. It was not to him that this ſacrifice was made.

For

For a long time paſt the empreſs had remarked the manly comelineſs and noble air of Potemkin. She recollected with complacency, that on the day of the revolution of 1762, Potemkin being as yet very young, had ſeized the moment when ſhe had mounted her horſe for gallantly riding up to her, and preſenting her with the plume from his hat *. She reſolved at length to be more particularly acquainted with him; and the firſt interview ſhe had with him ſecured to this new lover the ſuperiority over all his rivals. Vaſſiltſchikoff received his diſmiſſal; Orloff was retaken into favour; but the incorrigible coarſeneſs of his manners, formerly palliated by the warmth of his attachment, became unſufferable, when united with decayed affection. Potemkin alone had the ſecret of conſoling her majeſty under the uneaſineſſes occaſioned by the war, the apprehenſions from the rebellion, and the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between the old favourite and the miniſter Panin. Potemkin grew giddy with ſucceſs; his pride and preſumption kept pace with his proſperity; and he ſoon received a check.

* Whether it was his ſultane, the upright plume in his hat, or his cockade, dragonne, or ſword-knot, is immaterial to the main fact: it was, however, one or other of them.

One day, as he was playing at billiards with count Alexius Orloff, he was ſo thoughtleſs as to boaſt of the favour he enjoyed; and even ventured to aſſert, that it entirely depended on him to remove from court any perſons for whom he might conceive a diſlike. Alexius Orloff made him a haughty anſwer; a quarrel enſued; and Potemkin received a blow, which occaſioned him the loſs of an eye. This was not his only misfortune. Gregory Orloff, informed of the affair by his brother, ran to the empreſs, and requeſted of her the removal of Potemkin.

Potemkin repaired to Smolenſk *, his native place, where he remained almoſt a year in ſolitude, ſuffering much from his eye †, and from vexation at his being exiled from court. One while he declared it his reſolution to turn monk; at another time he pretended that he would become the greateſt man in all Ruſſia. In ſhort, all at once he wrote to the empreſs, beſeeching her to think of him. Her majeſty immediately ſent him letters of recall, and replaced him in

* Prince Potemkin was born in the environs of Smolenſk, of a family very little known.

† It has been ſaid that he might have been cured of the injury he had received in his eye, but that, in his impatience, he burſt a ſlight tumour that had formed cloſe to the ball, and deprived himſelf of the ſight of it.

the

the full poſſeſſion of her favour. Prince Orloff had been for ſeveral days at his hunting-ſeat; and this abſence gave opportunity for inſtalling Potemkin at the palace; and on the return of the old favourite, his complaints and his reproaches were no impediment to the continuance of the new one.

The poſt of favourite being peculiar to Ruſſia, it will naturally be expected that it ſhould here be treated of ſomewhat more at large. Ever ſince the year 1730, this empire has been governed by women, the reign of Peter III. having been too ſhort to form any ſtriking exception, or for giving the Ruſſians a notion of any other government. It is a trite remark, that when kings reign women rule, and when women reign men govern: but there ſeems nothing more in this pretended axiom than an antitheſis conſecrated by cuſtom, and repeated from one to the other, like many more, without reflection or foundation. Henry IV, Guſtavus III, Catharine II, are invincible proofs that both men and women are capable of grand undertakings, without the aid of the other ſex, not to mention more examples in confirmation of the fact. For a ſeries of ſeventy years the monarchs of Ruſſia have always had favourites officially: it is no wonder then that the cuſtom,

thus ſanctioned for ſo long a period, and ſcrupulouſly obſerved by four empreſſes, ſhould be almoſt deemed a fundamental law of the empire, and an appendage to imperial grandeur; for the age of the late ſovereign latterly gave no room to think that ſhe kept her's for any other purpoſe than in conformity to eſtabliſhed uſage, and as a property to the magnificence of the court. As the reign of that princeſs was of a longer duration than that of any of the empreſſes her predeceſſors, it is highly natural that the number of her favourites ſhould be more conſiderable; accordingly, ſome of them are ſtill in being, and two have been carried off by death. Sovereigns are men of like paſſions with us, conſequently ſubject to the ſame caprices, ſlaves to the ſame weakneſſes. It is not becauſe of any exemptions they poſſeſs from the common lot of our nature, that the ſceptre is given them to wield, and that their brows are graced with the diadem; it is only to mark them as the point in which our intereſts unite, and by looking to which we are kept in order.

It is neceſſary then to ſhew what were the duties and diſtinctions of the favourites of Catharine. When her majeſty had fixed her choice on a new favourite, ſhe created him her general aid-de-camp, in order that he might accompany her

her every where without reproach or obſervation. Thenceforward the favourite occupied in the palace an apartment beneath that of the empreſs, to which it communicated by a private ſtaircaſe. The firſt day of his inſtallation he received a preſent of 100,000 rubles, and every month he found 12,000 on his dreſſing-table. The marſhal of the court was commiſſioned to provide him a table of 24 covers, and to defray all the expences of his houſehold. The favourite attended the empreſs on all parties of amuſement, at the opera, at balls, promenades, excurſions of pleaſure, and the like, and was not allowed to leave the palace without expreſs permiſſion. He was given to underſtand, that it would not be taken well if he converſed familiarly with other women; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the miſtreſs of the houſe was always abſent.

Whenever the empreſs caſt her eyes on one of her ſubjects, in the deſign of raiſing him to the poſt of favourite, ſhe cauſed him to be invited to dinner by ſome lady of her confidence, on whom ſhe dropped in as if by chance. There ſhe would enter into diſcourſe with the new comer, with a view to diſcover whether or not he was worthy of the favour ſhe deſigned to grant him. When the judgment ſhe formed

was

was favourable, the confidante was informed of it by a ſignificant look, who took care to notify it to him who had the honour to pleaſe. The day following he received a viſit from one of the phyſicians of the court, who came to inquire into the ſtate of his health; and the ſame evening he accompanied the empreſs at the hermitage, and took poſſeſſion of the apartment that had been prepared for him. It was on the ſelection of Potemkin that theſe formalities began; and ſince that time they have been conſtantly obſerved.

When a favourite had loſt the power of making himſelf agreeable, there was alſo a particular manner of giving him his diſmiſſion. He received orders to travel; and from that moment he was debarred all acceſs to her majeſty. But he was ſure of finding at the place of his deſtination recompences worthy of the munificent Catharine.

In juſtice to the empreſs of Ruſſia, it muſt be obſerved, that, ſince the ceſſation of the ſword in Poland, her conduct with reſpect to that country had been infinitely more juſt, moderate, and temperate, than that of the other powers. Inſtead of new and endleſs claims, and continually haraſſing and pillaging the people, ſhe had, with reſpect to herſelf, been governed by the late treaties; and to others, been their mediatrix

diatrix and advocate; and there is little room to doubt, that ſhe was even the means of preventing greater violences than thoſe which have already excited the ſurpriſe of mankind. It is as little to be doubted, that the preſent partition of Poland was far beyond the original intentions of that princeſs, and that ſhe was led, by various means and inſenſible degrees, into thoſe fatal meaſures which have terminated in its ruin.

Some time after the concluſion of the peace with Turkey, the empreſs of Ruſſia remitted 250,000 rubles to the king of Poland, as a compenſation for that part of his domains which fell into her hands. This was the firſt compenſation that had been heard of in the affairs of Poland, and will probably be the laſt.

Nothing can be more fully deſcriptive of the condition of the governed, in thoſe countries which have been ceded to the partitioning powers, than the conduct of the jews. Theſe people, who for many ages have compoſed a very great part of the inhabitants of Poland, were daily retiring in numerous bodies from thoſe territories which were poſſeſſed by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, and flying for refuge and protection to the provinces which belong to Ruſſia. Yet the ruſſian government was never conſidered, even comparatively, as a mild one.

Commiſſaries

Commiſſaries were appointed by the delegation early in the year, to ſettle the limits between the territories of the republic and thoſe of the partitioning powers, in ſo preciſe and accurate a manner, as would for the future prevent all ground, and even poſſibility, of diſpute upon that ſubject. Though theſe commiſſaries held frequent meetings with thoſe who were appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the claims of the latter were ſo exorbitant, that they as continually broke up without effect; and the affair of the limits ſeemed now as remote from any proſpect of adjuſtment, as it was on the firſt day of the conferences.

As an unlimited toleration in religious matters was at that time one of the leading principles of the court of Peterſburg, and that both policy and juſtice required every ſecurity and ſatisfaction, in that reſpect, ſhould be granted to the new ſubjects in Poland, the empreſs accordingly erected a biſhopric in the latin ritual at Mohilef, to whoſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction all the roman catholics in her vaſt dominions were to be ſubject. The ſuffragan biſhop of Vilna was the firſt appointed to this new biſhopric, and ten thouſand peaſants allotted for the ſupport of his paſtoral dignity.

The

The republic granted the king, as an indemnity for the loſs of his revenues, an annual income of five millions of poliſh florins, (amounting to near 300,000 l.) in which ſum is included the million of florins deſtined for the ſupport of his guards. She alſo engaged to pay his debts, amounting to ſeven millions of florins; ſhe beſtowed on him, in hereditary poſſeſſion, four ſtaroſties, (which are governments of caſtles, with the diſtricts belonging to them,) to be tranſmitted to his family for ever; and beſides ordered a reimburſement of ſuch money as the king had advanced for the uſe of the ſtate. It was alſo agreed, that the fixed revenues of the republic ſhould be enhanced to 33 millions of poliſh florins, and that the army ſhould conſiſt of 30,000 effective men.

It ſhould here be remarked, that this great revenue, amounting to near two millions ſterling, muſt have been rather beyond the ability of Poland, even in its beſt times. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the delegation made a moſt ample proviſion for the king by this arrangement, the articles of which are ſo much in his favour, as to leave little room to doubt that his intereſts were particularly ſupported by the partitioning powers.

The intereſt which the king of Pruſſia took, upon this occaſion, in the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants

bitants of Poland, is too curious a circumſtance to be overlooked. That monarch, by M. Benoit, his miniſter at Warſaw, put an abſolute negative upon the eſtabliſhment of an army of 30,000 men, as a cruel and intolerable oppreſſion, and a burden which it was not proper to lay upon the people in their preſent ſtate. The more we reflect on the nature of his own government, the more we muſt admire the compaſſion and benevolence which operated in this inſtance.

1775. Peace being eſtabliſhed abroad, and every thing quiet at home, Catharine employed herſelf in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the country, and in opening the minds of her ſubjects; in all which ſhe found Potemkin ſo uſeful a ſecond, that he ſoon acquired an aſcendant little ſhort of abſolute. To him all perſons looked as the diſpenſer of all bounty, and the ſource of all honours. Conſcious of the vaſt influence he poſſeſſed, and knowing that there was no one to ſupplant him, he grew wanton in the enjoyment of his power, every day obtaining ſome new dignity or ſome acceſſion of revenue; yet, when he was refuſed any thing he requeſted, he would ſhew himſelf ſullen, and ſometimes even angry. It was by ſuch ſingular methods that he entered into the council, and procured himſelf the poſt of vice-

preſident

preſident at war. Count Zachar Chernicheff* was the preſident of it. Potemkin, who could not endure to ſee any one above him, reſolved to ruin him in the mind of the empreſs, and ſucceeded in the attempt. Zachar Chernicheff delivered in his reſignation; and though the favourite was totally deficient in all the branches of knowledge neceſſary to fill the important office of miniſter at war, he made no ſcruple at taking it upon him. So much preſumption created him at firſt a great number of enemies: he was cenſured for undertaking ſuch a diverſity of buſineſſes, and finiſhing none; for making promiſes of promotion indiſcriminately to every ſuitor, while he did nothing for any body; and for employing himſelf to no purpoſe but in aggrandiſing ſtill more his enormous power.

The empreſs had ſucceeded in reconciling Potemkin with the Orloffs, and was exerting all her efforts to preſerve peace between them. Though for prince Gregory Orloff ſhe had not now the ſmalleſt remains of affection, nor perhaps of gratitude, ſhe kept terms with him ſtill. As for him, always jealous, not of the pleaſures, but of the honours of Potemkin, he requeſted permiſſion to retire from the court; but the

* The ſame who, in 1762, had the command of the army that was ſent into Sileſia.

empreſs would not conſent to it, preferring rather to endure his behaviour, than permit him to carry about with him a reſentment, which, though it might not be dangerous, could eaſily be rendered alarming by circumſtances. Beſides, ſhe had ſtill another motive for his retention. She was in hopes that his preſence would be ſome check on the petulance and audacity of his rival*. After having long oppoſed Panin to Orloff, ſhe now thought of oppoſing Orloff to Potemkin.

Mortified at being refuſed permiſſion to retire, a permiſſion which had been formerly granted him againſt his inclination, Orloff had a long explanation with her majeſty. He recalled to her mind the obligations which ſhe had to him: he boaſted of his zeal and fidelity; he preſumed to ſay that ſhe had nothing to reproach him with but the being leſs young than his rival. Catharine hearkened to all with great gentleneſs; and, without plainly denying the wrongs of the complainant, ſhe aſſured him, that the empreſs was

* Once, on being ſent for to council, while he was engaged in a party at cards, he refuſed to go. On the meſſenger humbly aſking for a reaſon to take back with him, he told him he might find it in the bible. The meſſenger inquired where. "In the firſt pſalm, and in the "firſt verſe:—*Beatus vir qui non abiit in conſilio impiorum.*"

always

always his friend. By having recourſe to this mode of perſuaſion, which ſat ſo eaſily upon her, ſhe determined him to remain.

It was not long, however, before Orloff experienced a freſh cauſe of vexation. Shortly after the execution of Pugatſheff, the empreſs took the reſolution of viſiting Moſco; deſigning at once to enjoy the triumph ſhe had gained over a rebel, and to complete by her preſence the deſtruction of any hopes that might ſtill remain in the breaſts of the diſaffected. Prince Orloff exerted himſelf to diſſuade her from this journey, while Potemkin was employing every means to confirm her in her purpoſe. As the ideas of the latter were in uniſon with the deſires of Catharine, he eaſily carried his point. She ſet out on the journey.

It was not unknown to her majeſty, that, on the way to Moſco, ſhe would paſs through provinces where the popes were held in extreme veneration, and kept the people under the yoke of the moſt groſs ſuperſtition. She had the utmoſt contempt for the childiſh bigotry they taught, and held in abhorrence its dangerous miniſters: but ſhe remembered that ſhe had employed this advantage when ſhe had formed the deſign of dethroning her huſband, and there-

fore ſhe did not diſdain to employ it again for regaining the alienated minds of her people, and attracting the reverence of an ignorant multitude. To this end ſhe carried with her a great number of little figures of ſaints, which ſhe diſtributed in the churches and chapels on the road. Beſides theſe, ſhe deſigned for the cathedral of Moſco a large picture, richly decorated with gold and diamonds; this ſhe had cauſed to be placed in a carriage, which, during the whole of the journey, and when ſhe made her entry into Moſco, followed immediately after her own.

Six hundred men from each regiment of guards had preceded her arrival in that great metropolis, and put themſelves under arms to receive her.

Two triumphal arches had been erected*, and preparations were made for a ſplendid entertainment. She was attended by a brilliant retinue; the crowd of ſpectators was immenſe; order and magnificence prevailed on every ſide. Nothing was wanting but acclamations and burſts of joy. The populace, more amazed than affected, exhibited not the leaſt ſign of ſatisfaction. The empreſs had cauſed proclamation to be made

* Theſe two triumphal arches coſt, it is ſaid, 40,000 rubles.

of

of a diminution of impoſts; but the hearts of the people ſeemed as little moved by her bounties, as at the pomp of her train.

The grand duke experienced a very different reception. The inſtances of homage that were withheld from his mother were laviſhed upon him. It is pretended, that a courtier, ſtruck with this contraſt, and wiſhing to dive into the ſentiments of the heir of the throne, ſaid to him, "Your imperial highneſs ſees how much you are "beloved. Oh, if you would!....." The grand duke anſwered not a word, but gave the courtier* a look of reprimand, which ſhewed that, though he was kept out of a throne that belonged to him, he nevertheleſs knew how to behave as a reſpectful ſon.

Some days after her arrival at Moſco, the empreſs performed a pilgrimage to a convent ſituate at the diſtance of forty verſts from the city, walking on foot the whole way, attended by all her court. Count Panin alone was not invited to this act of devotion. On this occaſion he ſaid, in revenge for this mark of diſfavour:—"The empreſs was not willing that I "ſhould accompany her on her pilgrimage,

* Count Andrew Razumoffſky, one of the ſons of the hetman. The other, who is called count Gregory Razumoffſky, follows a ſtudious life at Lauſanne.

" becauſe ſhe thought that I had neither devo-
" tion enough, nor enough of the courtier."

Panin was become negligent not only of his duties as a courtier, but alſo of his functions as miniſter. Eaſe and amuſements were now his principal buſineſs. He rarely read the diſpatches of the ambaſſadors, and far more rarely deigned to anſwer them. This conduct put arms into the hands of his enemies, but was particularly favourable to the ambitious Potemkin, who was ardently longing for the removal of Panin. On ſucceeding prince Orloff in favour, Potemkin had preſumed to form the ſame deſigns with him in aſpiring to obtain the hand of the ſovereign. But he ſtood in awe of count Panin; his frankneſs, his perſuaſive eloquence, even his arts of intrigue, alarmed him; for notwithſtanding his indolence, the old miniſter could yet handle thoſe weapons.

What ſtrange metamorphoſes will not ambition work! The moſt arrogant man in all Ruſſia, he who to all appearance was leaſt calculated for putting himſelf under reſtraint, and who, having not the ſlighteſt tincture of religion, turned all modes of faith into ridicule, Potemkin put on all at once the exterior of a piety the moſt auſtere. At the beginning of Lent, to the ſurpriſe of all, he bid adieu to good cheer, of which

which he was very fond, lived upon nothing but roots, and his only drink was water; went regularly every day to confeſſion, and wearied the ſaints with his prayers. He had taken care to make choice of the ſame confeſſor with the empreſs, and unboſomed to him all his tranſgreſſions, at the ſame time praying him to inform that princeſs, that his alarmed conſcience would no longer allow him to indulge in an intercourſe that was criminal when not ſanctioned by marriage. Whether the monk had been gained over or not, he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Catharine came to no explanation with him: but, eaſily gueſſing the motive of Potemkin's ſcruples, ſhe ſent for him, and talked to him with tenderneſs, but with dignity. She told him that, though ſhe had a regard for him, ſhe was miſtreſs enough of herſelf to get the better of her paſſion; and that if he was reſolved no longer to fill the poſt of favourite, ſhe could eaſily reſolve to put another in his place.

Potemkin, diſappointed, humiliated, confounded, could not ſo thoroughly conceal his vexation, but the people of the court were able to perceive it. He was even heard to ſay, that he would take holy orders, and cauſe himſelf to be conſecrated archbiſhop. But the empreſs

returned to Peterſburg. Potemkin followed her, and ſoon forgot both his devotion and his reſentment in the purſuits of ambition and the enjoyments of pleaſure.

But the intrigues of the court have detained us from objects more worthy of our attention. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the pleaſures of Catharine prevented her not from applying herſelf to the cares of the government of her empire.

In the former days of Catharine's ſtay in Moſco, ſhe went to meet marſhal Romantzoff at Kolomiſki *: ſhe received him with every poſſible mark of ſatisfaction; and nothing could be more flattering than the ſplendid preparations which were made in the capital for the marſhal's reception there, upon his return from that war which he had ſo gloriouſly conducted, and ſo happily concluded. The empreſs, on this occaſion, ſhewed him all the reſpect that was due to the moſt illuſtrious ſupporter of her throne. It had been her intention that he ſhould enter Moſco on the ſame day with herſelf; and that, advancing on horſeback between the triumphal arches that had been raiſed to his honour, he ſhould join her, without ſetting his foot to

* The 21ſt of July.

the

the ground: and every thing had been prepared for his making a triumphal entry in all the magnificence of the ancients. This honour, however, the general, either through wiſdom or magnanimity, declined. But that circumſtance did not leſſen the intended ſplendor and magnificence in other reſpects, nor the public honours paid to the general. He choſe to appear before his ſovereign, not as a triumphant hero, but as a ſoldier come to make the report of his victories.

The next day the empreſs, accompanied by the grand duke, the principal officers of the empire, and all her courtiers, proceeded on foot from the antient palace of the tzars to the cathedral of Moſco, in order to be preſent at a ſolemn maſs, and the Te Deum * that was ſung on occaſion of the peace.

At the concluſion of this ceremony, the private treaſurer of the empreſs read, with a loud voice, the liſt of the recompences which that monarch was pleaſed to beſtow on the generals

* When, or how, or on what occaſion, the ſong of St. Ambroſe, as it is called, was adopted into the ruſſian liturgy, is a queſtion of ſome curioſity, ſince the greek church, from whence that of Ruſſia is denominated, knows nothing of it.

who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war againſt the Turks.

Marſhal Romantzoff received an eſtate in land with 5000 peaſants, 100,000 rubles in ready money, a very fine ſervice of plate, a hat encircled with a laurel branch of brilliant jewellery, and valued at 30,000 rubles, the ſtar of the order of St. George, and an epaulette of diamonds, with a magnificent truncheon of field-marſhal; and a diploma, adding to his ſurname that of Zadunaiſki, which may be tranſlated, the Ultra-danubian. To count Alexius Orloff, 60,000 rubles, and a ſword enriched with diamonds, of very conſiderable value, and a diploma granting to him the ſurname of Tſcheſminſki, from the burning of the turkiſh fleet in the bay of Tſcheſmè. To general Paul Potemkin, a diploma of count of the ruſſian empire, and her imperial majeſty's picture ſet with diamonds as an appendage to his dreſs. To general Panin and prince Dolgorouky, 60,000 rubles each, with a ſword and diamond ſtar. To count Soltikoff, the ſecond claſs of the order of St. George. To count Ivan Chernicheff, the order of St. Andrew. Several ribbons of St. Alexander Nefsky were conferred, and military promotions made.

Admiral

Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and appointed commandant of Cronſtadt; and the next day the grand duke beſtowed 11 ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large gold medals, ſtruck upon the occaſion, were likewiſe diſtributed to the field-marſhals, generals in chief, and foreign miniſters; and ſome of a ſmaller ſize, to the reſt of the nobility of the five firſt claſſes.

Her majeſty likewiſe recalled ſome noblemen from their baniſhment in Siberia; two of whom had reſided there ever ſince the year 1746.

Catharine had already, on the quelling of the rebellion, iſſued an ukauſe, whereby various taxes were aboliſhed, ſome of which had been laid on during the war, and others were of old ſtanding.

The taxes laid on during the late war, and which were now aboliſhed, were the tax of 80 kopeeks over and above that of 1 ruble 20 kopeeks paid per head by merchants and handicraftſmen; the tax of 100 rubles on each furnace or iron work; the tax of five rubles on each furnace in copper founderies; the tax of four kopeeks on every pood of caſt iron; the tenths of founded braſs; the tenths of the capitals employed in mines of every kind; the additional tax of one ruble *per annum* on every weaver's loom

loom employed in manufactories, or by private perſons in their own houſes; as likewiſe the tax of one *per cent.* on the value of every other kind of manufactured goods. A general liberty was alſo given to eſtabliſh manufactories without the neceſſity of previouſly obtaining the permiſſion of the college. The million and half of rubles, the empreſs advanced for ten years to the provinces which had lately been the ſeat of rebellion, at the rate of one *per cent.* for the firſt three years, and three *per cent.* for the remaining ſeven, was to be diſtributed amongſt the proprietors of peaſants, in the proportion of 40 rubles for every man loſt by them in the late troubles.

The taxes upon the eſtates of the livonian noblemen were taken off.

Amongſt the taxes of old ſtanding, which were now aboliſhed, were the tax on tanned leather and ſkins; that on wax, on tallow-melting, on ſoap-works, on oil-manufactories, on private ſalt-works, and that on malt and hops.

The prohibition was taken off from all the towns and villages in the empire, of erecting ſmithies and ſmall iron-works; and they were thenceforth permitted to manufacture and trade in all kinds of iron whatſoever.

The

The ſame edict contained a number of internal regulations, together with acts of grace and pardon. It took off all prohibitions againſt contracting marriages without the conſent of the governors of towns or provinces, and all dues hitherto paid to obtain their permiſſion.

It admitted all burghers, who ſhould declare upon oath that they were poſſeſſed of a capital of 500 rubles, into the claſs of merchants; whereby they were exempted from thoſe taxes to which they were ſubjected by their former condition: but in lieu of theſe they were to pay one *per cent.* upon their capital, whatever it might be, and which they were likewiſe to declare upon oath; and, contrariwiſe, thoſe who had hitherto come under the denomination of merchants, but who did not actually poſſeſs a capital of 500 rubles, were returned into the claſs of burghers.

All peaſants enfranchiſed by their lords, were, at their reverſion, to chooſe whether they would enter into the ſervice of government, or become merchants or burghers, that they might be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

A general pardon was granted to all perſons concerned in the late rebellion, with an injunction to bury every thing relative thereto in

in oblivion; as alſo a releaſe to all priſoners who have been confined, on account of any crimes whatever, for the ſpace of ten years, without having had judgment paſſed upon them; nor was thenceforth any crime, committed ſo long ago as ten years, without being brought to light, to be examined into: and this was declared to be a permanent law throughout the empire, for ever.

All nobles ſerving as ſubaltern officers, were to be ſubject to no other penalties and puniſhments than ſuch as had been inflicted on their ſuperior officers; nor were the corporal puniſhments of the private men to be for the future ſo ſevere, nor ſo ignominious, as they had hitherto been.

The ſenate received a ſpecial order to lower the duty on the ſale of lands, houſes, &c. from ſix to four *per cent.*

The empreſs had been, for ſome years paſt, meditating a regulation for the interior government of her country. This ſhe cauſed to be printed at Moſco: at the ſame time iſſuing an order, that it ſhould not at firſt be executed except in the governments of Smolenſk and Tver, as the people of thoſe two provinces appeared to her the moſt intelligent, the moſt docile, and conſequently the moſt fit for contributing

tributing to the ſucceſs of the intended trial of the new laws *.

In a former part of this volume †, we ſpoke in general terms of a conſtitution for the ruſſian empire, which ſeriouſly occupied her mind, and from which we took occaſion then to lay before him that part which related to the police. It now remains for us to give a more particular account of that conſtitution itſelf, in which, however, we ſhall obſerve as much regard to brevity as the nature of the ſubject will allow.

Catharine began by dividing her extenſive empire into governments or viceroyalties. Of theſe ſhe formed 43, whereof 38 lie in Europe, and five in Aſia. The remoteſt of the aſiatic part are indeed of an enormous circuit; but in the reſt the difference in point of extent is not

* The firſt ukauſe concerning it was dated in November 1775. The regulation was afterwards ſucceſſively introduced and eſtabliſhed in all the other provinces of the empire, during the years 1776—1783. Theſe regulations were even tranſlated into the tartarian languages, in order, in due time, to their introduction among that people.

† P. 334, &c. The whole of this conſtitution has been annulled by the preſent emperor Paul, and the viceroyalties aboliſhed.

ſo

ſo very conſpicuous. Many of them were again divided into provinces; but all into circles, of which each government, according to its dimenſions, had ſix, ten, or more. Each of the latter was to conſiſt of from 300,000 to 400,000 perſons of the male ſex, conſequently of 600,000 or 800,000 people; and every circle of from 40,000 to 60,000 inhabitants: but in the actual eſtabliſhment of it afterwards this was not obſerved; there are ſome which compriſe in them a greater and others a ſmaller number of perſons.

The viceroyalty has a general governor, a governor, and a government-adminiſtration; in which, beſide theſe two perſonages, two counſellors have ſeats. Subordinate to theſe, are a court of juſtice, a finance chamber, a ſuperior country-court, a viceroyalty magiſtrate, &c. The circle has alſo its court of judicature; likewiſe a ward or guardian office, a land-ſurveyor, a rent-maſter, a phyſician, a ſurgeon; in the cities are magiſtrates, in the towns, common-councils; in both, oral-courts of judicature, &c.* The whole eſtabliſhment was erected on the moſt ſplendid footing, in order that proviſion might be made

* See before, p. 349.

both for whatever was neceſſary to the well-being of the department, and what had a tendency to the improvement and to the embelliſhment of the country; and the appearance and retinue of the governor were, in the judgment both of foreigners and natives, ſuitable to the dignity of his ſtation, and the honour of the government over which he preſided.

Two examples of the annual government-expence, without including the diſburſements for the military commands, will ſuffice to explain this matter: the new eſtabliſhment demands annually for the viceroyalty of St. Peterſburg, conſiſting of ten circles and the city of Cronſtadt, the ſum of 143,800 rubles: for the viceroyalty of Tver, which has thirteen circles, 120,953 rubles.

Beſides the advantages ariſing from an uniform and fixed adminiſtration of juſtice, her majeſty perhaps thought, and in this opinion ſhe had the concurrence of many well-meaning perſons, that by means of theſe inſtitutions, particularly in the interior provinces, by the example of civil-officers with rich ſalaries, by the erection of a public theatre, and other incitements to emulation in dreſs and appearance, to introduce a greater refinement of manners, and more attention to the elegances of life; but others have

have ſince thought they perceived a luxury heretofore unknown, daily gaining ground, to the detriment of the morals of that frugal people.

The principal matter in this new diviſion of the empire was, the complete alteration of the old internal conſtitution. In this reſpect it was the greateſt and moſt comprehenſive reform that Ruſſia had ever ſeen (even not excepting the reformations of Peter the great); an excellent means to the promotion of national proſperity, and a noble machine in the hands of an attentive government. Every city, every town, may be conſidered as a ſmall community, which cities and towns, by diviſions into circles, are conſolidated into one larger community, from whence the ſeveral viceroyalties grow. In each of theſe latter, the two ſovereign perſons of the government, (of whom the ſecond, the governor, is properly a vice-general-governor,) with all their power, have yet only to do with the peculiar affairs of the government of their own territory; the courts of juſtice therein are entirely independent on them, and their ultimate reſort is to the tribunal of appeals belonging to the viceroyalty. The regulation of the claſhing concerns of the ſeveral colleges of juſtice, and the reſt of the inſtitute, very little reſembling

reſembling any thing of the kind in Europe, is truly admirable.

All is ſimple, uniform, and for the moſt part novel. It is not without foundation that philoſophical politicians have maintained, that ſuch a ſimplification was favourable to deſpotiſm: but in an empire whoſe conſtitution was already an unlimited ruler, it was in the higheſt degree proper; eſpecially on account of its ſo prodigious a compaſs, which otherwiſe would be neither eaſily ſuſceptible of inſpection, nor of being vigorouſly actuated throughout. Whatever was not ſuitable to this ſyſtem, was either aboliſhed or new-moulded; whatever, in particular provinces, militated againſt the new form of government, was removed. The countries bordering on the Baltic, formerly conquered from the Swedes, as well as the tribes of Tartars on the cataracts of the Dniepr, were deprived of their old conſtitutions, though ſo ſolemnly ſecured to them by treaties of peace and acts of ſubmiſſion. The firſt ſhock could not paſs over without violent commotions; but now the moſt extenſive empire on the earth, with all its territories and countries, was phyſically and geographically cemented together, in regard to its internal policy, truly into one body politic.

The reform of the ſenate, at the commencement of this reign, had, in a manner, prepared the way to this new creation; and the new adminiſtration of law, which was introduced in 1780, ſtood again in the cloſeſt connection with that conſtitution of government. In all the provinces, the forms of judicature hitherto in uſe were changed; they received uniformly courts of juſtice in regular and adequate gradations, in various modes, from whence the laſt appeal was to the directing ſenate.

Two inſtitutes in every government-circle deſerve particular mention: the college of general proviſion, which took cogniſance of all affairs relative to ſchools, orphan-houſes, infirmaries, and alms-houſes, mad-houſes, work-houſes, and places of correction; and the court of conſcience, which pronounced according to equity, in caſes where no judicial proof was to be had; and before which the moſt inſignificant perſon in the empire could cite the general governor himſelf, whenever he thought he had a claim upon him.

All the colleges that have been here and before mentioned, had their peculiar members, and theſe their ſtated rank; for even in this matter an exact gradation prevailed, which certainly contri-

contributed to the maintenance of order throughout the whole monarchy.

Before ſhe promulgated this regulation, the empreſs repaired to the ſenate, in all the ſtate of imperial majeſty, where ſhe cauſed it to be read and enregiſtered in her preſence. She had already cauſed to be enregiſtered an ukauſe, worthy of attaching to her the gratitude of a great number of her ſubjects. The inhabitants of the diſtant provinces had been, till that time, obliged to travel up to Peterſburg or to Moſco to have their cauſes tried. Catharine reſolved to ſave them theſe long and expenſive journies; ſhe therefore declared that thenceforward all ſuits ſhould be adjudged by the tribunals of the provinces; reſerving, however, to the parties the right of appealing from the judgment of theſe tribunals to one or the other ſenate, and even to the council of the empreſs, but alſo making it known that, if the former judgment was confirmed, the appellant ſhould pay a fine.

Another ukauſe diffuſed joy and gladneſs among the inhabitants of Siberia. The rebellion of Pugatſheff had long put a ſtop to their commerce, and the ſcarcity of money ſtill greatly impeded its operations. By applying a remedy to this latter inconvenience, the empreſs

cauſed the former to be forgotten. A bank was eſtabliſhed at Tobolſk, and committed to the care of Gotoſtzoff, who had already given proofs of his ſkill in the direction of the bank of Peterſburg. The commerce of Siberia preſently regained its former activity.

The general commerce of the empire attracted the eſpecial attention of Catharine. She encouraged it to the utmoſt of her power; juſtly conſidering it as the principal ſource of her greatneſs.

About the ſame time, ten veſſels laden with wine, having on board ſome chriſtian emigrants from the Morea, appeared at the Dardanelles, to paſs from the Archipelago to the Euxine, in order to proceed to the ruſſian territories, on the borders of the ſea of Azoff. The commandant of the Dardanelles ſent an officer to ſearch them; and, upon the captain's refuſing to conſent to it, he obliged them to anchor under the forts, and ſubmit to be viſited. Colonel Peterſen, chargé des affaires from Ruſſia, being informed of this violence, demanded immediate ſatisfaction, as a violation of the 11th article of the treaty of peace; and the Porte diſpatched a firman, by which the commandant was ordered to let thoſe veſſels paſs freely.

No

No material change took place in the circumſtances of Poland ſince the concluſion of the war between its great neighbours. The court of Peterſburg directed all the affairs of that country with as unbounded a ſway, as it regulates thoſe of its domeſtic provinces. It is true that the nobility there were ſtill as turbulent, and the factions as violent as ever; but, fortunately for themſelves and the people, the power which overawed and controuled them, was of ſo ſuperior a ſtrength and magnitude, as effectually to reſtrain them from thoſe deſperate efforts which had of late ſo repeatedly heaped ruin upon themſelves and the republic. Under the order preſerved by that ſtrong graſp, the country was now beginning to recover from the effects of thoſe dreadful calamities which it had ſo long endured; and its extenſive plains once more to ſmile under the hand of cultivation.

The moderation and influence of the court of Peterſburg, had alſo produced a very happy effect upon the conduct of the other great partitioning powers: they both having deſiſted from ſeveral of their late claims, and relaxed greatly from that rigour and violence with which they had treated the republic.

The diſſidents alſo were at length remembered by the court of Ruſſia; and their privi-

leges were now aſcertained and ſecured. They were particularly ſecured in the public profeſſion and exerciſe of their religion, and were allowed churches and ſchools, even at Warſaw; but were reſtrained from the uſe of bells in the former. Some other regulations took place in their favour; particularly a right of appeal, in all caſes of grievance, to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own communion were to be admitted as aſſeſſors. They were, however, ſtill debarred from ſitting in the ſenate, and from occupying any offices in the departments of adminiſtration.

It was with a view to excite emulation, and confer a ſort of dignity on ſuch of her ſubjects as ſhould addict themſelves to commerce, that Catharine publiſhed the edict* mentioned above, freeing them from the capitation and the obligation in which they had hitherto been, of drawing lots for ſupplying recruits to the army and navy; and by permitting, at the ſame time, all free boors to enroll themſelves in one of the mercantile claſſes†, on condition of paying annually

* It is called in Ruſſia the edict, or the ukauſe of grace.

† The ruſſian traders, or merchants, are divided into three claſſes. The firſt is compoſed of thoſe who poſſeſs, or are rated as poſſeſſing, a capital of 100,000 rubles: the ſecond,

annually to the crown one *per cent.* on the capital which they ſhould employ in their traffic.

In the ſame deſign of improving and extending the commerce of her empire, it was, that the empreſs renewed her treaty with England. She was alſo the declared patroneſs of induſtry and agriculture. New manufactories were every where eſtabliſhed, by her own direction and encouragement: ſhe employed workmen to rebuild the villages, and to repair the devaſtation which the rebellion of Pugatſheff had occaſioned to the colonies on the ſhores of the Volga. But, unfortunately, the men to whom the empreſs committed the exerciſe of her power, but rarely fulfilled her views. Entruſted with authority for the purpoſe of rendering her government amiable to numerous tribes of people, they ſeemed ſtudiouſly to bring an odium upon it.

Great pains were uſed, and no expence or encouragement ſpared, to induce foreigners to people thoſe vaſt deſarts which overſpread a great part of the empire; and which, in many

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ſecond, of thoſe who have 50,000 rubles; and the third, of thoſe who have only 100 rubles.—They pay to the government according to the claſs in which they are inſcribed; and it is eaſy to imagine that vanity often gets the better of truth, and even of avarice.

places, require only cultivation, to produce, in the greateſt abundance, every thing neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence and comfort of mankind. Theſe means, joined with the inducement of an unbounded toleration in religious matters, had ſucceeded ſo happily, that twelve new colonies, comprehending upwards of 6000 families, were already eſtabliſhed on the borders of the Volga. In order to facilitate the commerce and communication with China, and to prevent the great expences attending caravans, no leſs endeavours were uſed to form a cultivated tract along the courſe of the road through thoſe wide and void regions which ſeparate the two empires. Towns and villages were founded at proper diſtances for this purpoſe; and, as a rampart at the head of the line, ſeveral colonies of poliſh farmers had been eſtabliſhed during the war, in the country immediately adjoining to the confines of China. As theſe poor emigrants, who had eſcaped the double horrors of war and oppreſſion in their own country, were liberally provided with ſtock and all neceſſaries, and began to taſte the ſweets of ſecurity in perſon and property; the new ſettlements flouriſhed accordingly, until the rapacity of the governors, encouraged by the ſuppoſed impunity which their diſtance from the ſeat of government, and the means they poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of ſuppreſſing information and complaint would afford, changed the pleaſing proſpect, and had nearly accompliſhed their ruin. Some of the new colonies had been laid waſte by the depredations of the rebels, and all together were declining by the mal-adminiſtration, and the rapacity of the ruſſian agents. The 100,000 coloniſts, which Catharine had at ſeveral times brought into her country *, and the greater part of whom were Germans, were reduced, ten years afterwards, to leſs than 29,000 †, diſperſed and languiſhing in the parts about Saratoff, Kief, and Tzaritzin.

While Catharine was yet at Moſco, ſhe learned that ſome officers had juſt been following the example of lieutenant colonel Kiſchenſkof ‡, whoſe unworthy conduct has been already mentioned. Their vexations forced a horde of Baſhkirs to revolt. Theſe Tartars not only refuſed to pay the cuſtomary tribute, but they maſſacred the ruſſian officers, as well as the popes, that were ſent to them; and placed in the portable chapels or ſhrines of theſe popes, the

* In 1764 and 1765.

† 28,293 perſons of both ſexes, forming 7185 families.

‡ The ſame whoſe covetouſneſs and rapacity forced ſo many thouſands of Kalmuks to abandon Ruſſia, and betake themſelves to the mountains of Thibet.

images

images of the Dalai-lama, preferring their old idolatry to a religion the followers whereof were to them only greedy oppreſſors. The empreſs opened a treaty with them. Officers leſs rapacious than the former were now ſent to them, and the whole horde returned peaceably under the ruſſian authority.

Her majeſty, at the ſollicitation of the inhabitants of the newly acquired provinces of White-Ruſſia, to have their taxes put upon the ſame footing on which they were before it came under her ſceptre, inſtead of barely granting them their requeſt, reduced their taxes ſtill lower, by taking off one half of what they were then rated at.

She alſo eſtabliſhed a number of other regulations, all tending to the ſecurity, advantage, and happineſs of her ſubjects; to aboliſh pernicious diſtinctions, deſtroy ruinous monopolies, reſtrain the cruelty of puniſhment, remove oppreſſive or impolitic reſtrictions and prohibitions, and to reſtore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in thoſe different ranks which they fill in ſociety. A pardon was alſo paſſed to thoſe criminals, who had already undergone a long degree of ſuffering for their crimes; and an ordinance iſſued to prevent any future criminal proſecution from being admitted, unleſs it was commenced

commenced within ten years after the date of the charge. Equal humanity was ſhewn with reſpect to impriſoned debtors, who under certain limitations, and in certain circumſtances, were releaſed from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were diſcharged from their obligations.

Moreover, to encourage trade in the Euxine, lately opened to her by the treaty with the Porte, where it would not meet with thoſe impediments which nature has placed in the Baltic, where the climate is a check to trade for the greater part of the year, and the dangerous coaſts of the Cattegatte and the gulf of Finland cauſe numberleſs ſhipwrecks during the remainder; Catharine allowed the uſe of ſhips freight-free to Guſetnikoff, a ruſſian merchant, who had raiſed a capital for that undertaking; and alſo promiſed to make good all his loſſes, leaving, at the ſame time, the whole profits which might accrue from ſuch trade entirely to himſelf.

In the mean time Ruſſia ſtill continued to move in that ſuperior ſphere of conduct, which had for ſome years excited the admiration of the world. Great and ſplendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence only ſuited to the reſources of ſo vaſt an empire,

threw

threw a luſtre all around which dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and afforded a permanency to the government of Catharine which was little to have been expected, either from the diſpoſition of the people, the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power, or the many inauſpicious circumſtances which attended its commencement. Individuals felt themſelves partakers in the exalted ſtate of the whole, and that ſenſe ſeemed to influence their conduct. A captain of a ruſſian ſhip, forgetting all ſober maxims of prudence, with a noble generoſity, at the hazard of his life and property, and encountering what is ſtill more dreadful than either, the danger of ſlavery, boldly went and cut a rich chriſtian prize out of a fortified piratical harbour in Barbary, ſcorning all benefit to himſelf or his brave crew, other than the glory of the act, with the pleaſure of reſtoring liberty to the captives, and their property to the pillaged.

The attention which had of late, more than ever, been paid to the increaſe and improvement of the ruſſian naval force, ſufficiently ſpoke the intentions of the government, even if other evidence were wanting, to advance ſpeedily into the firſt claſs of commercial and maritime power. But, of all the vaſt projects which have engaged the attention of the rulers of that empire, from

Peter

Peter the great, downward, none equalled in magnitude that which not only occupied the contemplation of Catharine, but was already in ſome degree undertaken *. This was no leſs than the union of the remote and inland Caſpian with the far-diſtant and boundleſs frozen ocean. However extraordinary this ſcheme may appear, and however difficult it might prove in the execution, yet, by means of canals, with the junction of ſeveral navigable rivers, it might perhaps be found not impracticable. If at any time this plan ſhould ſucceed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greateſt monument of human induſtry, and the moſt extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

While Catharine was employed in calming the rebellious Tartars of the eaſtern part of her dominions, ſhe uſed her efforts to induce thoſe of the leſſer Tartary to ſubmit to her ſovereignty. The conqueſts of prince Dolgorouky

* At leaſt ſo it was ſaid to be, in the german gazettes of the time of which we are ſpeaking; in which we alſo find the following: The empreſs of Ruſſia, beſides effectually beginning to make ſeveral of her rivers navigable, and join them, and of courſe the ſeas bordering her vaſt dominions, by canals, and puſhing her diſcoveries towards Japan and North America; has planted ſeveral villages in the road to China, in order to render the long journey there leſs dangerous, dreary, and uncomfortable.

had diſpoſed a great number of the inhabitants of the Krimea to favour the Ruſſians. The new khan Doulet-Gueray continued devoted to the Ottomans: a part of his people refuſed to obey him. Peace had been for ſome time concluded between the Turks and the Ruſſians; but the Tartars continued ſtill fighting. The Ruſſians ſtrewed preſents and diſſenſions among them. They ſecretly ſtirred them up to rebellion; and ſometimes even ſupported them with arms in their hands. All at once they appeared in the Krimea in conſiderable force; and by pretending to attempt to take Doulet-Gueray by ſurpriſe, they took care to give him an opportunity to eſcape. Doulet-Gueray did not let it ſlip; but this khan had ſcarcely quitted his country, when the Ruſſians cauſed Sahim-Gueray to be elected in his ſtead.

1776. Soon after this, the Ruſſians conſtructed a fortreſs between Kertſch and Yenikaly, together with a ſpacious town for the accommodation of the chriſtians of the Krimea who had come over to them for protection. The Turks, diſſatisfied with the revolution of the Krimea and the uſurpations of the Ruſſians, threatened to have recourſe to arms. The imprudent and feeble Sahim-Gueray, by the advice of a ruſſian agent who reſided with him, ſent

ſent to Peterſburg a deputation of ſix myrzas *. This homage was ſo flattering to the ambition of Catharine, that it could not but be well received: ſhe ſeemed to behold in theſe myrzas new ſubjects come to take their oath of allegiance. She treated them with friendlineſs; and previous to their preſentation for audience, they were habited in magnificent caftans †. They intreated her to vouchſafe her protection to their khan: a fatal protection which that unhappy prince afterwards too dearly paid for.

Marſhal Romantzoff had already received orders to collect an army on the banks of the Boryſthenes ‡. Every thing ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture between Ruſſia and the Porte: but prince Repnin, being ſent ambaſſador extraordinary from the empreſs to Conſtantinople, ſucceeded in calming, for ſome time, the reſentment of the divan. This was all that Catharine wiſhed for. She only deſired to gain time for preparing to enter the liſts with advantage; as the war was neceſſary to her ſchemes of invaſion.

Inceſſantly pre-occupied with her grand deſigns, Catharine ſeemed, nevertheleſs, to be

* Tartarian nobles.

† Theſe caftans coſt 4000 rubles each.

‡ The Dnieſter.

thinking

thinking of nothing but pleaſures. Her time was ſo ably diſtributed, that ſhe always found enough of it for buſineſs with her miniſters, for framing new laws, for writing, with her own hand, the orders ſhe ſent to her ambaſſadors and to her generals, for keeping up a regular correſpondence with men of letters and artiſts, for duly giving audience to her ſubjects, for partaking in all the amuſements of her court, and for gratifications ariſing from more tender connections. Conſtant in her ambition, ſhe was ſometimes faithleſs in attachments, and the politics of the woman were not entirely abandoned for thoſe of the monarch.

She had not long been returned to Peterſburg ere Potemkin ceaſed to be the object of her fond affection. She heaped benefits upon him in ſuch profuſion, that it looked as if ſhe had not honours and dignities enough to offer him; yet her heart was already decided in favour of another. A young Ukrainian, named Zavadoffsky, was honoured in private with the ſmiles of the empreſs. He was preſently appointed her ſecretary; and ſhortly after, her majeſty openly called him her favourite. This change gave occaſion to a ſcene that ſeemed of a very extraordinary nature at the court of Catharine. Whenever that princeſs gave an order, it appeared

peared impoſſible that it ſhould not be executed: however arduous the undertaking, ſhe would always be obeyed. Now, it is known, that the diſcarded favourite received orders to travel, and that it was no longer allowable for him to preſent himſelf before the empreſs till ſhe ſhould deign to recall him. The impetuous Orloff himſelf had ſubmitted to that cuſtom. But Potemkin took the liberty to evade it: on receiving the fatal order he pretended to ſet out; and the very next day he came, in the utmoſt compoſure, and placed himſelf facing the empreſs juſt as ſhe was ſitting down to her party at whiſt. Without evincing the leaſt mark of diſpleaſure at the preſumptuous diſobedience of Potemkin, Catharine advanced a card to him from the pack, told him that he always played luckily, and ſpoke no more of his departure. Potemkin preſerved all his poſts, his honours, his influence, and from the lover became the friend of the empreſs. Zavadoffsky had the art of pleaſing: but Potemkin had rendered himſelf uſeful; and his genius, more analogous to the genius of Catharine than any other of her favourites, uninterruptedly retained the aſcendant over her.

In the mean time, Orloff, who had been too ſuddenly informed of the diſgrace of Potemkin,

haſtened to Peterſburg. Here he found his rival ſtill in the enjoyment, not of the affection, but of the confidence of the ſovereign. Prince Orloff thought himſelf able to reſume that confidence, while a youthful lover, and a ſtranger to politics, poſſeſſed the heart of Catharine: but he was ſoon undeceived. He made his appearance at court, kiſſed the hand of the empreſs, and ſeeing Potemkin beſide her, ſet out immediately for Moſco.

The courtiers who were moſt habituated to obſerve the empreſs, could not divine which was the lover whom ſhe preferred. They could not imagine that Potemkin would ſurrender his intereſt in the affections of that princeſs. They neglected to conſider, that love is ſilent in the preſence of ambition.

Panin ſeemed more than ever ſunk in his uſual indolence, which now began to border on perfect apathy. But the empreſs left him in poſſeſſion of his poſts; both becauſe his long ſervices merited that indulgence, and becauſe he made one of a very powerful party. This party was deſirous of ſeeing Paul Petrovitch lay claim to a throne which by right was his; but the prudent moderation of the prince and his reverence for his mother repulſed all ambitious ſchemes. Catharine, however, who ſometimes forgot

forgot what her ſon would not, for thinking on what he might do, was not entirely free from inquietudes. She was miſtruſtful of all perſons whom ſhe thought capable of inſtilling bold advice into the mind of that prince; and ſhe was ſtill more apprehenſive of thoſe who could arm themſelves in his behalf.

Theſe apprehenſions had not eſcaped the obſervation of the king of Pruſſia. From the diſtance of Brandenburg he ſpied all that paſſed in the ſoul of Catharine; and dexterouſly applied it to his advantage. Knowing that he alone could effectually ſupport the grand duke in aſſerting his rights; whenever therefore he wanted to lead the empreſs to his purpoſes, he never failed to teſtify great concern about her ſon. The ſuſpicions of Catharine were alarmed; and, for preſerving the friendſhip of Frederic, ſhe eaſily made ſacrifices, whatever they might coſt.

The grand duke had a great friendſhip for count Andrew Razumoffsky. He engaged him in all his parties, and placed the greateſt confidence in him. The empreſs, who knew the bold and enterpriſing ſpirit of Razumoffsky, was alarmed at this intimacy, and reſolved to break it; and for this the count himſelf ſoon furniſhed her with an opportunity. Catharine remarked

ſome ſigns of ſecret intelligence paſſing between him and the grand ducheſs *, and made no ſcruple to ſuppoſe that Razumoffsky had preſumed to form ſome raſh deſigns upon the princeſs; of which ſhe carefully apprized the grand duke. That prince could not prevail upon himſelf to imagine that the ſuſpicions of his mother had any real foundation; nevertheleſs, without withdrawing his kindneſs from count Razumoffsky, he reſolved to keep an eye upon him; and recommended it to his conſort to be cautious and reſerved in her behaviour. Whether, in fact, the grand ducheſs had already ſome inclination for Razumoffsky, whether theſe very ſurmiſes and ſuggeſtions, and the reſtraints that were laid upon her in conſequence of them, might not give birth to this inclination, ſhe kept up a ſecret correſpondence with him. She went farther, it is ſaid: ſhe formed the deſign of revenging herſelf on her who had brought her virtue into ſuſpicion with her huſband; and accordingly entered into political intrigues, which could not fail of diſpleaſing the empreſs. Whether theſe reports were true or falſe, ſhe had not time to put them in execution. She died in childbed.

* The grand duke's firſt conſort.

The

The loſs of her brought on Catharine one criminal imputation more *.

As ſoon as it was known that the grand ducheſs had expired, the empreſs ſeemed at once to be overwhelmed with grief; ſhe retired to Tzarſko-ſelo, taking the grand duke with her. The event had really thrown that prince into the deepeſt affliction. However, after his ſorrow had ſomewhat ſubſided, he looked over the papers of his deceaſed conſort, and among them found letters from count Razumoffsky. Theſe letters he immediately carried to his mother; calling upon her for vengeance on the man who had thus dared to diſobey her commands. The empreſs, not willing that the affair ſhould make a noiſe in the town; and at the ſame time

* What ſerved to add credibility to the ſurmiſes was, that the midwife who attended the grand ducheſs very ſoon made a great fortune. She lived on a familiar footing with the empreſs, and talked with prince Potemkin and count Beſborodko in the ſtyle of *thee* and *thou;* and who often went to dine with her. Dr. Almann was the official accoucheur; but, upon being aſked by a friend afterwards why he was not preſent at the delivery, he replied: "Becauſe, on "a previous viſit to her imperial highneſs, the empreſs ſaid "to me, 'Sir, if any thing diſaſtrous ſhould happen, you "will anſwer it with your head.' Upon which," continued the doctor, "I made my obeiſſances, retired, and "have never been at court ſince."

wiſhing to ſpare the ſon of the hetman who had formerly been ſo inſtrumental to her, yielded however to the reſentment of the grand duke. But, inſtead of baniſhing Razumoffsky to Siberia, ſhe baniſhed him to Venice, with the title of her envoy extraordinary. Razumoffsky had already been ſent upon diſtinguiſhed embaſſies; and, although he perceived that this new miſſion was only intended as a mark of diſapprobation, he made no heſitation to accept it. Having ſtaid there ſome time, Catharine appointed him her miniſter at Naples *: at which place he was when the grand duke was on his travels in Italy; and it was noticed, that, on paſſing through Naples, the prince ſent to count Razumoffsky † to forbid him to appear in his preſence.

A few days antecedent to the death of the grand ducheſs, prince Henry of Pruſſia arrived at St. Peterſburg. Frederic being informed that, while the demarcations of Poland were carrying on, the commiſſioners of the co-partitioning powers could neither agree among themſelves nor with the Poles, had requeſted that his brother might go and confer with the

* Count Andrew Razumoffsky ſeemed formed for pleaſing princeſſes: for it is aſſerted, that the queen of Naples granted him extraordinary favours.

† In the year 1781.

empreſs,

empreſs, in order to terminate the differences attempted to be raiſed between the court of Ruſſia and that of Berlin. Prince Henry was eager to comply with that deſire.

The ſame honours were paid to prince Henry as at the firſt time of his coming to Ruſſia. He entered the reſidence at a late hour. It was on Eaſter-eve. The empreſs, always attentive to flatter the ſuperſtitious propenſity of the multitude, paſſed the greater part of the night in the chapel, with all her court. Prince Henry could not ſee her till the enſuing day. He diſcourſed with her often in private on the obſtacles that had ſprung up in Poland; and he found it not difficult to remove them. It was in one of theſe converſations, that the empreſs having ſtarted ſome objections, prince Henry ſuddenly replied; —"Madam, I ſee one ſure method of obviating "all difficulty. It may perhaps be diſpleaſing "to you on account of Poniatofsky: but you "will nevertheleſs do well to give it your ap- "probation; ſince compenſations may be offered "to that monarch, of greater value to him, "than the throne which is continually tottering "under him.—The remainder of Poland muſt "be partitioned."

This idea pleaſed the ambitious Catharine; and the annihilation of Poland was decreed.

The grand ducheſs having unfortunately died*, without leaving an heir to inherit the empire, the grand affair of ſucceſſion was a matter of too much importance, to be governed or limited by thoſe forms which prevail in ordinary caſes of a ſimilar nature. Accordingly the obſequies of Natalia Alexievna were ſcarcely ended, when the empreſs began to turn her thoughts to providing a ſecond conſort for her ſon. She told prince Henry that ſhe had caſt her eyes on the princeſs of Wirtemburg Stutgard, his niece, and that ſhe was deſirous of ſeeing an union between her and the grand duke.

The princeſs of Wirtemburg was already betrothed to the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt: but prince Henry, judging that the empire of Ruſſia muſt be of infinitely more value to her than the landgravate of Heſſe, immediately ſet about diſengaging her from her contract. He diſpatched a courier to the king of Pruſſia, informing him of the intentions of the empreſs, and aſking his aſſent. Frederic made no heſitation. The union propoſed by his brother was too favourable to the ſcheme of drawing cloſer the ties that ſubſiſted between Ruſſia and Pruſſia, to allow him to heſitate in endeavouring to bring it to effect. He was acquainted with the paſſion

* On the 26th of April.

with

with which the princeſs of Wirtemburg had inſpired the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; but when political concerns were in queſtion, what was love in the eyes of Frederic? He ſpoke himſelf to the young prince, and profited ſo ably of the aſcendant which he had over him, that the lover conceived it a matter of duty and reputation to make the ſacrifice of his paſſion.

Having ſecured the compliance of the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, Frederic informed prince Henry of it, and by the ſame conveyance wrote to him, that the parents of the princeſs of Wirtemburg would by no means oppoſe the elevation of their daughter. In theſe diſpatches he invited the grand duke to pay a viſit to Berlin, as he was deſirous, previous to the coming to any concluſion, that the prince ſhould ſee the new ſpouſe that was deſigned for him. He was himſelf extremely happy in ſeizing this occaſion for making a perſonal acquaintance with the grand duke.

Catharine, ſatisfied with theſe arrangements, ſet about making conſiderable preparations, in order that her ſon might accompany prince Henry on his return. She allotted 40,000 rubles for the journey of the princeſs of Wirtemburg. She called to Peterſburg marſhal Romantzoff, who reſided in his government of the Ukraine,

Ukraine, and charged him to attend the grand duke to Berlin.—" It is only," ſaid ſhe, " to " the friendſhip of prince Henry, and to the " moſt illuſtrious ſupporter of my throne, that I " can conſent to truſt my ſon."

It was towards the cloſe of ſummer, when the grand duke ſet out the firſt from Tzarſko-ſelo*; the next day prince Henry took leave of the empreſs. Whatever were her majeſty's ſentiments, ſhe ſeemed much affected at the departure of both the one and the other. Scarcely had the travellers joined at Riga, before they received ſeveral letters from her. The following is that which ſhe wrote with her own hand to prince Henry.

" I take the liberty of tranſmitting to your " royal highneſs, the four letters of which I " ſpoke to you, and which you promiſed to " take care of. The firſt is for the king your " brother, and the others for the princes and " princeſſes of Wirtemburg. I venture to pray " you, that if my ſon ſhould beſtow his heart " on the princeſs Sophia, as I have no doubt " but he will, to deliver the three latter accord- " ing to their directions, and to ſupport the

* Marſhal Romantzoff, count Nicholas Soltikoff, prince Kourakin, and the boyar Naniſhkin, accompanied him on his journey.

" contents

" contents of them with that perſuaſive elo-
" quence with which God has endowed you.

" The convincing and reiterated proofs
" which you have given me of your friendſhip,
" the high eſteem which I have conceived for
" your virtues, and the extent of the confi-
" dence which you have taught me to repoſe
" in you, leave me no doubt on the ſucceſs of
" a buſineſs which I have ſo much at heart.
" Was it poſſible for me to place it in better
" hands?

" Your royal highneſs is aſſuredly an unique
" in the art of negotiation: pardon me that
" expreſſion of my friendſhip. But I think
" there has never been an example of an affair
" of this nature tranſacted as this is. Accord-
" ingly it is the production of the moſt intimate
" friendſhip and confidence.

" That princeſs will be the pledge of it. I
" ſhall not be able to ſee her without recollect-
" ing in what manner this buſineſs was be-
" gun, continued, and terminated, between the
" royal houſe of Pruſſia and that of Ruſſia.
" May it perpetuate the connections which
" unite us!

" I conclude by very tenderly thanking your
" royal highneſs for all the cares and all the
" troubles you have given yourſelf; and I be-
" ſeech

" ſeech you to be aſſured that my gratitude, my " friendſhip, my eſteem, and the high conſi- " deration which I have for you, will terminate " only with my life.

" CATHARINE.

" Tzarſko-ſelo, June 11, 1776."

After having made a halt of twenty-four hours at Riga, and ſeen the manœuvres of ſeveral regiments encamped at ſome diſtance from the town, the two princes proceeded to Mittau, where they were received by the duke of Courland *. This duke was the ſon of the famous Biren, who had juſt finiſhed, in tranquillity, his long and ſtormy courſe. The grand duke received at Berlin the honours due to the heir of the imperial throne of Ruſſia †. Prince Henry

* The duke Charles.

† The 21ſt of July, the grand duke made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by prince Henry of Pruſſia; in the following order: Firſt appeared 24 poſtillions, ſounding their horns, commanded by ſix ſecretaries of the poſt, all in complete uniform; after theſe came the company of butchers, then that of archers; after them a conſiderable body of merchants, diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of their uniform: after theſe companies followed three ſuperb ſtate coaches, in which were, lieutenant-general Lentulus von Buddenbrock; count Verthern, miniſter of ſtate; major-generals Sobeck and Prittvitz, with ſome other gentlemen. A detach-

Henry preſented him to the king; who came out to meet them at the entrance of his apartment. The grand duke accoſted him by ſaying:

" Sir, the motives which bring me from the " extremities of the north to theſe happy domi- " nions, are the deſire of aſſuring your majeſty of " the friendſhip and alliance to ſubſiſt henceforth " for ever between Ruſſia and Pruſſia; and the " eagerneſs to ſee a princeſs deſtined to aſcend " the throne of the ruſſian empire; who, by " my receiving her at your hands, I dare to " promiſe you, will be the more dear to myſelf " and to the nation over which ſhe is to reign; " and chiefly to ſee that boon granted me for

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A detachment of life-guards, followed by a running-footman, immediately preceded one of the king's coaches, with eight horſes, in which were the grand duke and prince Henry. This was one of the moſt ſuperb carriages ever ſeen; and was followed by three others, in which were, general field-marſhal count Romantzoff Zadunaiſky, general count Soltikoff, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his imperial highneſs. The proceſſion was cloſed by 100 men of infantry, being the guard of honour. The magiſtracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of 70 young maidens, dreſſed like nymphs and ſhepherdeſſes, preſented the grand duke with verſes, and a garland of flowers. The cannon fired, and the trumpets and other muſic ſounded from the beginning till the grand duke entered the palace.

" which

" which I have been ardently wiſhing ſo long: " the ſatisfaction of contemplating the greateſt " of heroes, the admiration of our age, and the " aſtoniſhment of poſterity."

Here he was interrupted by the king, who replied:—" Inſtead of which, you behold, my " prince, a hoary-headed valetudinarian, who " could never have wiſhed for a ſuperior hap- " pineſs than that of welcoming within theſe " walls the hopeful heir of a mighty empire, " the only ſon of my beſt friend, the great Ca- " tharine *."

The pruſſian monarch then turned towards marſhal Romantzoff, and added: " Welcome, " conqueror of the Ottomans! I find a great " reſemblance between you and my general " Vinterfeldt †."

" Sir," returned the marſhal, " I am ambi- " tious to reſemble, even outwardly, a general

* Notwithſtanding this language, Frederic had written, and cauſed to be circulated in Berlin, an anonymous letter, in which he ſpoke of the foibles of the *grande* Catharine with ſo circumſtantial an accuracy, that it had very much the air of a ſatire.

† General Vinterfeldt was much beloved by the king of Pruſſia. It was he who ſaved the army which the hereditary prince, father of the late king Frederic William II. commanded in Luſatia, when he quarrelled with his brother.

" who

" who has ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in " your majeſty's ſervice."

" Oh," replied the king, " you have far " greater reaſon to be proud of the victories " which will hand down your fame to the lateſt " poſterity *."

After a converſation, which laſted about half an hour, with Frederic, the grand duke went to the queen, in whoſe apartments many perſons of the court were aſſembled. Here he ſaw the princeſs of Wirtemburg. Prince Henry, in the name of the empreſs of Ruſſia, made the demand of the princeſs in marriage for the grand duke; and the ceremony of the contract took place the ſame day. After this there was an extraordinary court, at which were preſent all the foreign miniſters, and every perſon of diſtinction. The whole company ſupped with the queen, in great magnificence; and the next day dined with her majeſty.

* Frederic had a great eſteem for the brave Romantzoff. The compliments he addreſſed to him, remind us of what he ſaid ſome years before to field-marſhal Razumoffsky, formerly favourite of the empreſs Elizabeth.—Razumoffsky was preſent at a review held before Frederic at Potſdam. That prince aſked him how he liked the evolutions?—Razumoffsky, ſomewhat embarraſſed, made anſwer: " Sir, " I am only a civil general."—" Oh!" replied Frederic, " we know nothing of that here."

Feaſts and entertainments ſucceeded without interruption, at Charlottenburg, at Potſdam, and at Sans-Souci. But that which muſt have moſt delighted marſhal Romantzoff, was the view of the exerciſes of the garriſon of Potſdam. Frederic made his troops perform their manœuvres by ſquare battalions, in imitation of the bloody battle of Kayal, where the Ruſſians gained a complete victory over the Ottomans.

Prince Henry then accompanied the grand duke to Rheinſburg, where he gave him a feſtivity that laſted four days, and in which he diſplayed no leſs taſte than ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence*.

On the 3d of Auguſt, after quitting Rheinſburg, the grand duke took leave of the royal family; when the king made him the following preſents: a deſſert ſervice, and a coffee ſervice, with ten vaſes of china, of the manufacture of Berlin; a ring with the king's portrait, ſurmounted with a diamond valued at 30,000 crowns; a ſet of pruſſian horſes; and four pieces of rich tapeſtry.

* At the departure of prince Henry, the empreſs gave him very magnificent preſents; as well as to all the perſons of his ſuite.

Paul

Paul Petrovitch returned to Peterſburg; and it was not long before the princeſs of Wirtemburg was there likewiſe. She embraced the greek religion, with the uſual formalities *, adopting the name of Maria Feodorovna, and was married to the grand duke †. Twenty years after their nuptials, this imperial couple aſcended together the throne of Ruſſia ‡.

Catharine, having given a ſecond conſort to her ſon, extended the boundaries of her vaſt empire, and extinguiſhed the flames of rebellion in the remoter provinces, might now reaſonably be expected to repoſe in the tranquil

* The ceremony was performed by his eminence Gabriel, metropolite archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg and Novgorod.

† Of this marriage are born, four princes and five princeſſes:

1. Alexander Pavlovitch, born December 12, 1777. Married to Elizaveta Alexievna, born January 13, 1779.
2. Conſtantine Pavlovitch, born April 27, 1779. Married Anna Feodorovna, born September 12, 1781.
3. Nikolai Pavlovitch, born June 25, 1796.
4. Mikhaila Pavlovitch, born January 8, 1798.
5. Alexandra Pavlovna, born July 29, 1783.
6. Elena Pavlovna, born December 13, 1784.
7. Maria Pavlovna, born February 4, 1786.
8. Ekatarina Pavlovna, born May 10, 1788.
9. Anna Pavlovna, born January 7, 1795.

‡ On the death of Catharine II. which happened November 17, 1796.

enjoyment of her power. But repoſe was not made for her aſpiring ſoul; ſedate and quiet pleaſures could never ſatisfy her reſtleſs genius. She was ever on the purſuit of farther glory, or, perhaps, as ſome will have it, of that celebrity which is not always real fame; and there was nothing which ſhe would not have ſacrificed to that ardent deſire. When her armies had ceaſed to gain victories beyond her frontiers, fame muſt prepare for her other triumphs. All Europe reſounded with the brilliant acts of her munificence; with the encouragements ſhe afforded to the arts and ſciences, the prizes which ſhe aſſigned to talents, the bounties which ſhe ſhowered upon foreigners, and the numerous inſtitutions which ſhe created for augmenting the induſtry and the riches of her people. The juſt encomiums beſtowed on her by thoſe who had been benefited by her liberality, were re-echoed in the gazettes of every nation.

Since the regeneration which Peter the great began with his people, national cultivation had occaſionally been a matter of public concern. To that great prince the academical gymnaſium and the marine cadet corps owe their origin. Among his ſucceſſors the empreſſes Anne and Elizabeth diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the proſecution

ſecution of theſe important plans. During the reign of the former were laid the foundations of the greateſt ſeminary of education in the ruſſian empire, the land-cadet corps; and Elizabeth gave birth to the academy of arts, while ſhe enlarged the inſtitution of that of the marine, which had been founded by Peter.

But reſplendent as theſe beneficial works appear in the annals of the age, yet are they eclipſed by the later proviſions, if we purſue the hiſtory of ruſſian civilization and improvement through the times of Catharine II. This monarch, immortal in the chronicles of the world by numberleſs acts of her life, but peculiarly memorable in the minds of philanthropiſts and philoſophers, by legiſlation and the erection of ſchools, completed the plan of her great predeceſſor for the illumination and improvement of the nation, upon ſuch principles and to ſuch an extent, as he himſelf, with his prodigious mind, could never have imagined poſſible in a period ſo near to his own. Guided by her hand, the maſs of uſeful knowledge which had before been confined to the city of Peterſburg, and kept more for oſtentation than for public benefit, was diſtributed in thouſands of ſmaller channels, diffuſing itſelf over all the country, every where

enriching the ſoil, and rendering it ſuſceptible of a higher cultivation.

The public inſtitutions for national improvements, now flouriſhing, owe their origin, for the greater part, but all of them without exception their enlargement and amelioration, to the late empreſs Ekatarina Alexievna.

The following liſt ſhews the revenues of the public places of education, and the number of pupils boarded, clothed, and taught at the imperial expence.

The land-cadet-corps has		700	pupils, and	200,000 rubles.
Sea-cadet corps	—	600	—	120,000
Artillery cadet-corps		445	—	121,722
Grecian cadet-corps		200	—	41,613
Page cadet-corps	—	65		
Medicine and ſurgery ſchool		30		
Land and ſea hoſpital ſchool		100	—	16,000
Mine-cadet-corps	—	70	—	15,000
Clerical ſeminary				
Gymnaſium of the academy		65		
Academy of arts	—	325	—	60,000
Theatre ſchool				
Navigation ſchool	—	65		
Young ladies ſchool		480	—	180,000
Popular and normal ſchools		3200		
Education-houſe	—	300		
Orphan-houſe	—	100		

According to this imperfect ſurvey, therefore, in the thirty-one places of education here named, about

about 6800 children of both ſexes in the reſidence are brought up at the expence of government. The ſums ſet down amount to 754,335 rubles *per annum*.

Having thus briefly taken notice of ſome of the inſtances of that beneficial care which the tranquillity of her empire allowed Catharine to beſtow upon its welfare, we now proceed with what was going forward at the palace.

Gregory Orloff being returned to court without having received a recall, ſeemed inſenſibly accuſtomed to ſee Gregory Alexandritch Potemkin occupying the firſt place about the throne of Catharine. Potemkin, proud of his influence, and more jealous of retaining the abſolute power he had acquired than the love of the empreſs, left her in the tranquil indulgence of her inclination for Zavadoffsky. For the ſpace of a year and a half this latter had filled the place of ſubaltern favourite; when all at once his ambition was rouſed. He had before his eyes the example of Potemkin. He imagined, that, like him, he might paſs from the embraces of the empreſs into the poſt of prime miniſter. But in order to this, he muſt firſt turn out Potemkin. He ſet about it with the utmoſt ardour; and began by attempting to render the deſpotiſm of Potemkin odious to the ſovereign. He obtained the con-

currence of diſcontented officers, envious courtiers, and artful women. Potemkin, informed of theſe intrigues, and poſſeſſing far greater abilities than his rival, reſolved to cruſh him at once. An opportunity for which was almoſt immediately furniſhed him by chance.

A young Servian, named Zoritch, an officer in a regiment of huſſars, came to Peterſburg to look out for promotion. He was tall, well-built, and adapted to attract the notice of a voluptuous woman. Potemkin, who knew the inconſtancy and warmth of Catharine, gave Zoritch a captain's commiſſion, and put him in the way of that princeſs. She did not fail to remark him. The next day Zavadoffsky was diſmiſſed. Zoritch took his place.

Zavadoffsky, who had already received many marks of bounty from the empreſs, had, at the inſtant of his departure, a gratification of 90,000 rubles, the addition of a penſion of 4000, and a conſiderable eſtate in land.

Zoritch at the ſame time received a landed property of the value of 120,000 rubles, together with the cuſtomary preſents. This new lover, without education, without experience, could give no umbrage to the haughty Potemkin. Contented with adminiſtering in obſcurity to the pleaſures of the empreſs, he took no other advantage

tage of her favour, than what aroſe from ſecuring the influence and authority of the man to whom he was indebted for it. It was only with Potemkin that Catharine balanced the fates of Europe.

CHAP. X.

Relations between Ruſſia and Denmark.—Conduct of the ruſſian miniſters at Copenhagen.—Succeſs and misfortune of Struenſee.—Character of Bernſtorff.—Ceſſion of Schleſvig.—State of Sweden.—Revolution of 1772.—*Voyage of Guſtavus III. to St. Peterſburg.—Hoſtile diſpoſitions of the Turks.—Treaty of Conſtantinople.—Feſtivities.—Diſaſters.—Diſmiſſion of the favourite Zoritch.—Is ſucceeded by Rimſky Korzakoff.—Tranſactions of* 1776 *to* 1779.

EVER ſince the elevation of Catharine II. to the throne of Ruſſia, the court of Peterſburg had unremittedly kept up a correſpondence with that of Copenhagen, or rather had never ceaſed to exerciſe its influence over it. That influence, the work of Peter the great, had experienced

ſome interruption under his ſucceſſors *. Catharine II. reſtored it to its full force. That princeſs had not inherited the animoſity and the projects of Peter III. againſt Denmark; ſhe neither ſent out her fleets nor her armies to attack it: but ſhe well underſtood the art of keeping it long in ſuſpenſe, between the hope of obtaining the entire ceſſion of Schleſvig, and the dread of being deprived of that important poſſeſſion.

The court of Copenhagen was attached by ſtill another intereſt to Ruſſia. She could not cheriſh the expectation of being able perfectly to ſecure herſelf againſt the ambition of the kings of Pruſſia and Sweden, otherwiſe than by the alliance of Ruſſia; ſhe accordingly made continual efforts for contracting more cloſely the ties of that alliance. Under the adminiſtration of the empreſs Elizabeth, it had often had recourſe to preſents for purchaſing the good-will of the miniſters and favourites of that princeſs, and ſometimes even to grant them penſions †.

* For example, under Catharine the firſt, whoſe daughter was married to the heir of the houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp, between which and the houſe of Oldenburg there had been differences of long ſtanding.

† The court of Denmark made conſiderable preſents to the Shouvaloffs, to the Nariſhkins, and to ſeveral other courtiers. It conferred penſions on the ſtate counſellors Volkoff and Oltzouſieff.

Could

Could ſhe then be leſs generous towards thoſe of Catharine, or were they themſelves more difficult than the former? However it be, as ſoon as that monarch thought herſelf ſafely fixed on her throne, ſhe reſolved to govern Denmark, as ſhe did the reſt of the north, and no longer took any pains to keep fair with it.

She began by making an ungrateful return to count Ranzau Alchberg, who was miniſter from Denmark to Peterſburg in 1762. Ranzau having witneſſed the preparations made by Peter III. for the conqueſt of Holſtein, attached himſelf to Catharine's party, and even formed an intimate connection with prince Orloff. The empreſs made uſe of him in the endeavour to throw an odium on the warlike plans of her huſband; and Orloff let him into the ſecret of the conſpiracy that was carrying on againſt that prince. Flattered with this mark of confidence, Ranzau gave profitable advice to Orloff, and ſeconded him with all his might. The conſpiracy ſucceeded. Ranzau was at firſt well received by the empreſs; but coolneſs and even ſcorn preſently ſucceeded to theſe firſt movements of ſatisfaction, and Ranzau, thoroughly diſſatisfied with the empreſs and the favourite, ſet out on his return to Denmark.

Catharine, who doubtleſs took pleaſure in humiliating the court of Copenhagen, made choice

choice of count Saldern for her envoy extraordinary to Denmark. Saldern, born in Holſtein, of very obſcure parents, had at firſt occupied an inferior poſt at Tritau, from which he was turned out on account of ſome malverſation; afterwards he came to ſeek his fortune in Ruſſia. Of a bold and intriguing diſpoſition, he introduced himſelf to the court, and met with ſucceſs; and when the empreſs ſent him to Copenhagen, he behaved there with ſuch inſolence as to excite a more lively recollection of his extraction, and the diſgrace he underwent on being diſmiſſed from his former ſtation. He dared to ſpeak to the daniſh monarch and his miniſters in a tone of arrogance that was ſhocking to thoſe who heard him. He wanted to be informed of all the affairs that were carrying on, and pretended to direct in a dictatorial manner how they ſhould determine upon them. It was count Saldern, who, contrary to the opinion of the council and the wiſhes of the people, determined the king of Denmark to travel into England and France, a journey which was attended with conſequences ſo fatal to that feeble prince and his imprudent conſort!

Saldern was not content with gaining intelligence of all ſtate affairs; he intermeddled with the domeſtic concerns of the monarch, and directed the moſt trivial tranſactions. He placed about

about him perſons on whoſe devotedneſs to him he could at all times depend, and removed all who ſeemed adverſe to him. In a word, he exerciſed a deſpotiſm at once arrogant and trifling *.

When the empreſs recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, ſhe ſent in his place Philoſophoff, a man not leſs haughty, and not leſs jealous of maintaining the aſcendant of his court. Philoſophoff ſoon acquired in Denmark the ſame influence as his predeceſſor. This was indeed no difficult matter; the monarch was weak and his council timid. The ruſſian miniſter had only to pronounce the name of Holſtein, in order to make every thing ſubſervient to his will. We will here adduce one inſtance of the inquiſitorial authority which Philoſophoff arrogated to himſelf.

* The young queen Caroline Matilda had as grande-maîtreſſe of her houſe, and who was at the ſame time her favourite, madame de Pleſs, an amiable and ſenſible woman. This lady, incenſed at the manner in which Saldern had ſubjugated the king, thought it her duty to make ſome remonſtrances upon the matter to that prince. The king was weak enough to go and talk of it to Saldern; he immediately demanded the removal of madame de Pleſs; and, in ſpite of all the ſollicitations of the queen, madame de Pleſs was diſmiſſed.

The

The count de Saint-Germain * was appointed miniſter at war in Denmark. Being intimately connected with count Gœrtz, a german officer of very diſtinguiſhed merit, he offered him a poſt in the daniſh army, after having obtained the conſent of the monarch to that end. Philoſophoff was informed of it; and, whether he had any particular reaſon for entertaining an averſion for count Gœrtz, whether he was not willing that an officer of merit ſhould enter into the ſervice of Denmark, he immediately wrote to the king:—"I juſt now learn that you have "offered ſervice to count Gœrtz. I have "orders from my court to break off all commu- "nication with yours, and to quit Copenhagen, "rather than permit that intriguing and danger- "ous man to remain with you." Nothing more was neceſſary for preventing count Gœrtz from reaping any benefit from the offers that had been made him.

Nevertheleſs, the influence of Philoſophoff was diminiſhing in proportion as that of count Struenſee increaſed; and it was not till the moment of the bloody cataſtrophe of the latter, that the ruſſian miniſter reſumed his authority.

* The ſame who had left France to go and ſerve in Denmark, and who afterwards returned to France, where he was made miniſter at war.

Philoſophoff

Philoſophoff at firſt made ſome ineffectual efforts for removing Struenſee from the court. He had a twofold motive of antipathy towards him. He knew that Struenſee was in oppoſition to the ruſſian party; and he could not forget that he had cauſed him to loſe the favours of one of the handſomeſt women of Copenhagen. Beſides, Philoſophoff was the ſtay of the old count Bernſtorff*, devoted to Ruſſia, and removed from the miniſtry by Struenſee.

We ſhall not here attempt to follow the labyrinth of theſe intrigues. Every body knows the lot that befel Struenſee; who, from phyſician, became the admirer of the young queen Caroline Matilda, and prime miniſter; and whoſe pride and imprudencies created him enemies, who ſoon brought him to the ſcaffold†. It is well known

* Uncle of the preſent miniſter.—Philoſophoff, who had occaſion to go and take the waters of Pyrmont, would not ſet out without having obtained from the king of Denmark the promiſe not to make any change in the miniſtry of foreign affairs during his abſence. He took his departure. Bernſtorff was immediately diſplaced, and Ranzau Aſchberg put in his place; Ranzau Aſchberg, whom the conduct of Catharine had rendered the irreconcileable enemy of Ruſſia.

† Frederic II. ſaid, on being informed of the revolution of Denmark: "Struenſee is a blockhead. A man ought "never

known that the queen herſelf was impriſoned, detruded from the throne, and exiled to Zell, where ſhe died of the exceſs of her grief*. The ruſſian miniſter beheld with ſatisfaction the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy plotted againſt Struenſee and the young queen; and he reaped the fruits of it. The queen dowager, Julia Maria†, who had brought about the revolution, held in her hands the reins of government. That princeſs was far from being ſo devoted to Ruſſia, as the unhappy king in whoſe name ſhe govern.ed.

" never to form ſuch connections with queens, unleſs they " reign in their own right, and when he is generaliſſimo of " their troops."

* She died at the beginning of the year 1776. She had made herſelf much beloved by the people of Zell, by employing in acts of beneficence the greater part of the moderate penſion allowed her by the court of Denmark. The day on which the news of the death of that princeſs arrived at Copenhagen, there was to have been a ball at court. Endeavours were uſed to keep it a ſecret, that Caroline Matilda was no more; but the tidings were ſoon ſpread abroad: however, that circumſtance did not prevent the ball from going forward.

† Siſter of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick and the unhappy duke Anthony Ulric, who, as we have already ſeen, was kept in priſon at Kolmogory, near Archangel. The ruſſian prince Peter, brother to prince Ivan, murdered in 1764, died on the 13th of January 1798, at Horſens in Yutland, where he had reſided ſince 1780.

But

But ſhe had too much ſenſe not to perceive the neceſſity of keeping upon good terms with Catharine and her artful miniſter.

Ranzau was diſmiſſed. His reſtleſs ſpirit diſturbed the queen, whom he had ſo faithfully ſerved. But, though ſhe reſolved to remove him, becauſe ſhe was afraid of him, ſhe pretended to adopt this meaſure only out of regard to Ruſſia.

The old count Bernſtorff had been dead ſome time. Philoſophoff was deſirous that the nephew of that miniſter ſhould fill the place that had been taken from him. He thought him worthy of it, no doubt, from his attachment to Ruſſia; the Danes had reaſon to think that he was the more ſo, from the ability he diſplayed in labouring for the good of his country.

Bernſtorff was of an advantageous ſtature, and had a noble figure. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his youth by his politeneſs, his modeſty, his cultivated underſtanding, and the moſt perſuaſive eloquence. In proportion as he advanced in age, his excellent qualities grew into a ſettled habit, and gained him the general eſteem of all his countrymen. Living at the court, and addicting himſelf to the ſtudy of politics, he was neither leſs ſimple in his manners, nor leſs frank in his diſcourſe. As a ſtateſman,

ſtateſman, he ſhewed great abilities; as a miniſter, he faithfully kept his word. Diligent and indefatigable in buſineſs, he had a ready conception, and a happy manner of expreſſing his ideas*. An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleaſure, evincing an uncommon preſence of mind and a temper always equal, he never ſuffered himſelf to be diverted from his purpoſe. He was never inflated by proſperity, nor dejected by misfortune. If his labours were crowned with ſucceſs, he knew that he would ſhortly have freſh obſtacles to ſurmount; if he failed, he perceived all the reſources that Fortune had ſtill to offer him. His only defect, perhaps, was rather too much attachment to his opinions, which he always defended with warmth. But this very defect was of ſervice to ſhew that Bernſtorff was honeſt, and would never deceive. Sprung from a family of the electorate of Han-

* Very eaſy of acceſs, communicative and affable, he frequently gave audience: and there was ſcarcely a private individual in tolerable circumſtances in all Denmark whom he did not know, and to whom he was not perſonally known. Neither was there ever in any country a man more generally beloved and eſteemed. It is well known, that the affranchiſement of the daniſh peaſants was owing to him, as well as the abolition of the negro-trade. A column is erected near Copenhagen, to teſtify to poſterity the gratitude of the peaſants.

over,

over, Bernſtorff had a ſtrong predilection for the britiſh nation. He was alſo well acquainted with what was due to the court of Ruſſia. Notwithſtanding this, he was not leſs equitable towards other powers; and ſought with not leſs zeal the advantages of Denmark, to which he conſecrated all the hours of his life *.

No ſooner had he entered into the miniſtry, but Bernſtorff, faithful to the maxims of his uncle, bent all his efforts to obtain from Ruſſia the ceſſion of that part † of Holſtein to which it had all along kept up its pretenſions. He was not ignorant how much the corruption of the ruſſian miniſters was intereſted in holding Denmark in a ſtate of dependence on them; but it was in the very exceſs of that corruption that he deſcried one of the means of its emancipation. He knew likewiſe, that the pride of Catharine could only with great difficulty be brought to abandon the ſmalleſt portion of her dominions; and he undertook to employ that very pride to bring her to conſent to that ſurrender. Philoſophoff was firſt won over. Several perſons in the higher departments of government, favour-

* Count Bernſtorff died at Copenhagen the 21ſt of June 1797. If he had been ſtill living, his encomium would not have been printed here.

† Schleſvig.

ites, ſecretaries, and agents, made mercenary bargains for their ſpeech or their ſilence. The rapacious Saldern, ſeduced by conſiderable preſents, ſcrupled not to hold a language quite different from that which he had hitherto held, and took the negotiation on himſelf. He repreſented to the empreſs that it was beneath her dignity to preſerve a weak principality, which made her dependent on the german empire. The imperious mind of Catharine, which was indeed hurt at this ſpecies of ſubjection, thought that ſuch language, dictated only by covetouſneſs and ſelf-intereſt, proceeded entirely from a tender concern for her glory. And this it was that induced her to make that ſurrender of all her claims upon Holſtein, for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt, which ſhe relinquiſhed, at the ſame time, to the prince-biſhop of Lubek: the treaty of exchange was ſigned at Kiel, the 16th of November 1773.

This event occaſioned infinite joy at Copenhagen. The day on which the treaty had been ſigned was celebrated with pomp*. It was not the

* Bernſtorff received the moſt flattering teſtimonies of gratitude from his countrymen. The bounty of the court was extended to the whole of his family. The widow of the elder Bernſtorff, his uncle, was honourably gratified, and

the ſame at St. Peterſburg. Catharine quickly diſcovered that ſhe had been the dupe of Bernſtorff's artifice. Saldern, whoſe malverſations were eaſily proved, fell into diſgrace. But the empreſs conſoled herſelf for the loſs of Holſtein, by the aſſurance of preſerving in Denmark an ally always ſubmiſſive, and ever ready to ſerve her againſt Sweden.

More nearly connected with Ruſſia, Sweden has alternately excited the dread and ambition of the court of Peterſburg. Peter the great had reſolved to annihilate that power; and the victories of Charles XII. were no obſtacles to his making himſelf maſter of four of its fineſt provinces*. The ſucceſſors of that prince inherited his projects; and the ruſſian nation preſerves an implacable hatred againſt a people whom ſhe at length overcame, but who made her purchaſe her conqueſts by torrents of blood. War on any pretence againſt Sweden cannot fail of being agreeable to that ferocious and vindictive nation. Every means of cruſhing her

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and received a letter from the king with the portrait of that prince, on a medal round which was inſcribed, "In honour "of the 16th of November 1773."

* Livonia, Eſthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

rivals cannot but be eagerly cheriſhed by the court of Ruſſia.

The ſwediſh nobility, divided into two factions diſtinguiſhed under the names of Caps and Hats*, has but too much contributed to favour, by its diſſenſions, the ambition of Ruſſia. When count Panin, in the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth, was miniſter from that princeſs at Stockholm, the money he profuſely ſtrewed, and the connexions which he formed †, gave him an aſcendant which he dexterouſly made the inſtrument of oppoſing the ſenate to the court. He directed the one by his intrigues, while he kept the other in awe by acting on their fears. Count Oſtermann afterwards imitated, and even ſurpaſſed him. More impetuous, more active than Panin, he kept Sweden in a ſort of vaſſalage; and it may be affirmed that, while Frederic Adolphus ‡ lived, the miniſter of Ruſſia reigned in Stockholm. The view of this miniſter, doubtleſs, was nothing ſhort of diſpoſing Sweden to become a ruſſian province; but he flattered

* It is well known that the party of the Hats has always been devoted to France, as that of the Caps is to Ruſſia.

† He was the known lover of the counteſs of Lovenhielm, who had great influence in the party of the Caps.

‡ He died in 1771, and was ſucceeded by Guſtavus III.

the

the nobles with the hope of making it a republic, under the protection of Ruſſia; a project which had been long conceived both by them and by lord Carteret*.

On his acceſſion to the throne, Guſtavus III. mortified at the influence employed by Ruſſia, and at the authority of the ſenate of Stockholm, attempted to free himſelf from this double yoke.

The party of the Caps, which prevailed in the ſenate, had alſo the preponderance in the diet of 1772. Proud of the power which it had ſo often abuſed under Frederic Adolphus †, it reſolved to enlarge the bounds of it under his ſucceſſor, and preſcribed to that monarch the form of an oath different from that exacted by the fundamental laws of the country. Guſtavus III. ſigned this formulary without taking the pains to read it, reſerving to himſelf, doubt-

* Upwards of 50 years ago.

† This party, ſupported by Ruſſia, had ſeized upon all the lucrative places and all the poſts of honour in the adminiſtration; it was continually making uſurpations on the prerogatives of the crown, and intermeddled even in the petty affairs of his houſehold. Would it be believed that it had the inſolence to fix the quantity of wine that ſhould be drank at his table, and that it deprived him of the liberty of chooſing his own confeſſor?

leſs, in ſo doing, a pretext for diſſolving the engagement which he was forced to contract.

This prince, who had already placed all his confidence in the counts Scheffer * and Salza, acted in concert with them and the ambaſſador of France, the count de Vergennes, and they drew up together the plan of the revolution, as it was ſhortly after executed.

The diet, in a very ſhort time, began to conceive ſuſpicions concerning the deſigns of the young king. It took umbrage at the reſort of ſome officers, once or twice in every week, at the houſe of general Ramſay, who was known to be devoted to the court, and ſent an order forbidding the regiment of guards from aſſembling for exerciſe, and even for parade.

Not yet ſatisfied with theſe precautions, the diet excluded from the ſenate all the members in oppoſition to the dominant faction. This vindictive proceeding ſerved only to fan the zeal of the old partiſans of the king, and to gain him new ones; for ſeveral of the nobles who were not partial to the royal authority, however, dreaded it leſs than they deteſted the tyranny of their rivals. Count Axel Ferſen was of that number. Famous for his eloquence,

* Charles Scheffer.

and

and for his attachment to the old form of government, he loudly diſapproved of the innovations of the diet; but, thinking himſelf ſomewhat neglected by Guſtavus, he retired from Stockholm. The ſenator Hermanſon was endowed with leſs ſenſibility, or was treated more kindly. His talents and his influence were neceſſary to the views of the monarch. He dedicated them to his ſervice *.

Guſtavus, however, communicated to the perſons who were to execute the plan of his operations, only what was neceſſary for them to know, in order to ſecond him properly. His firſt ſtep was to make ſure of the fidelity of the generals of the army. But the majority of them appeared to him too ſtrongly attached to the old conſtitution, to admit of his opening himſelf to them on the change which he had in contemplation. Colonel Sprengporten and captain Hellechius were the only perſons on whom he thought he might depend. He then reſolved to give the alarm of a ſham rebellion in two of the diſtant provinces, in order that the diet ſhould not pay attention to what was going forward in the capital.

* The ſenator Hermanſon framed a conſtitution upon a new model; count Scheffer prepared another; the king himſelf drew up a third.

Hellechius, on whom the king afterwards conferred the rank of general, and the name of Guſtafſchœld *, was at that time commander at Chriſtianſtadt, a city of Scania. He lived amicably with the officers of the garriſon, frequently gave them entertainments, and found no difficulty in making them promiſe to act in concert with him. He openly blamed the decrees of the diet, and declared himſelf in favour of the royal authority. The inhabitants of Chriſtianſtadt adopted the ſame ſentiments, and expreſſed themſelves in the ſame language with them. The report of theſe proceedings ſoon reached Stockholm. The diet took the alarm, and commiſſioned baron Rudbek, governor of the capital, to go and put a ſtop to the murmurs of the Scanians.

In the abſence of baron Rudbek, the command of Stockholm was committed to general Peſchlin †. This officer acquitted himſelf of his

* This name ſignifies, in ſwediſh, *the ſhield of Guſtavus.*

† General Peſchlin has been ſurnamed the Wilkes of Sweden. But he reſembled Wilkes more in his venality than in his talents. M. de Vergennes ſaid of that general, that he had no other defect than that of preferring imperials to louis-d'ors. It was obſerved by a well-known ſcholar and wit, on ſeeing the epitaph deſigned by Wilkes for himſelf,

his charge with ſo great vigilance as diſconcerted, for ſome time, the friends of Guſtavus. Every attempt was made to corrupt him; but in vain: his reſolution was already taken.

Fortunately for the king, baron Rudbek came and reſumed his command. He reported to his friends, that the gates of Chriſtianſtadt were refuſed to be opened to him; and that captain Hellechius had juſt publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the power which the diet had arbitrarily aſſumed. The dominant faction then reſolved to diſcover whether Hellechius acted by the king's orders, certainly hoping in that caſe to ſeize upon the perſon of the monarch.

Guſtavus was too great a maſter of diſſimulation to allow his ſentiments to be eaſily gueſſed. He anſwered one while with great firmneſs of mind, and at another with an air of indifference that deceived all the emiſſaries of the diet; and baron Rudbek, who thought he had thoroughly ſounded him, ſaid in public: "That the perſonage was by no means dan-" gerous." Nevertheleſs, the diet iſſued orders that the garriſon of Stockholm ſhould be

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ſelf, "A friend to liberty," that he was happy to ſee him ſo grateful, for liberty had certainly been a great friend to him.

augmented

augmented with the regiments of Uplande and of Sudermania.

It is certain that if theſe regiments had had time to enter into Stockholm, the revolution would not have been brought about; and much ſlaughter had been prevented. The guards were already diſcontented that other troops had been called in, and that the inhabitants, who had all taken up arms, and were devoted to the king, ſhould be united to the guards.

Every moment now became of conſequence. Colonel Sprengporten, who had been commiſſioned to conduct the troops from Finland, and whoſe arrival was to be conſidered as a ſignal to the king, had been detained by contrary winds. He did not arrive, and the time was loſt in an expectation continually becoming more dangerous. Generals Salza, Scheffer, and Vergennes held a council, and determined Guſtavus to accelerate his enterpriſe.

The execution of it was fixed for the following day. The very evening of that on which this reſolution was taken, the king appeared at the opera *, amidſt a great ſhow of nobility. He gave a grand ſupper to the court; and con-

* The repreſentation was Thetis and Peleus; the firſt opera that was played in the ſwediſh language.

verſed

verſed with unuſual gaiety. He afterwards retired to his apartment, where he paſſed a conſiderable part of the night in writing to his brothers and his friends.

After having finiſhed theſe letters, he went to viſit ſeveral of the corps-de-garde *, as he had done for ſeveral nights before, in order to accuſtom the ſoldiers not to be ſurpriſed at ſeeing him at ſuch unſeaſonable hours. Being returned to the palace, he went calmly to bed, and roſe at his ordinary time. Count Levenhaupt, his premier ecuyer, being come to receive his orders, he told him, in confidence, to keep ready for him a greater number of horſes than uſual.

The ſenate met, according to cuſtom, at ten o'clock in the morning. Half an hour after this, the ſoldiers who came to relieve the guard, advanced into the court-yard of the caſtle; where they were no ſooner entered, than the king came down, ordered the gates to be ſhut, and addreſſed his guards in a very eloquent

* When he had entered the guard-houſe of the admiralty, an officer ſhut the door with ſo much violence as to put the lock out of order, ſo that the door could not be opened again. The king was uneaſy; but captain Hanſon, who commanded the poſt, gave the door ſuch a blow as broke it to pieces.

ſpeech,

ſpeech *, in which he exhorted them to deliver their country from the tyranny of a few factious nobles. He proteſted that he was not ambitious of abſolute power, but required only a ſufficient authority for the maintenance of order and for enforcing the laws. This aſſurance, accompanied with the promiſe of ſuitably rewarding ſuch as ſhould ſecond his undertaking, had all the effect he deſired. The guards replied by ſhouts of approbation. Guſtavus immediately cauſed an oath to be adminiſtered to them; and the officers were obliged to follow the example of the ſoldiers.

Reckoning on the fidelity of his troops, Guſtavus cauſed centinels to be placed about the hall of the ſenate, with orders to let no perſon go out. He himſelf proceeded to the grand corps-de-garde; and, having called the officers together, he related to them, in preſence of the ſoldiers, what had juſt paſſed at the caſtle; and added, that he had no doubt of finding in them the ſame zeal as had been ſhewn by their brave

* One thing that gained Guſtavus III. the love of the ſoldiers and the peaſantry was, that, ſince Charles XII. he was the only king of Sweden who uſually ſpoke the language of the country. He expreſſed himſelf moreover with great elegance in that language; and compoſed ſeveral plays in it, much eſteemed by the nation.

comrades.

comrades. All, with the exception of only one *, ſwore to maintain his cauſe.

Guſtavus ſet out immediately to get poſſeſſion of the arſenal. He called for his horſes. Levenhaupt, who had them all in readineſs, was proceeding to order them out, when baron Rudbek appeared at the door of the ſtables, and commanded the groom to deſiſt.—"I re-"ceive no orders from you," replied Levenhaupt; "get out of the way, or I ſhall make "the horſes run over you."—The governor went directly to the ſecret committee of the diet, with a complaint againſt Levenhaupt; and ordered the ſecretary Ellers to minute down in his regiſter, what he ſhould dictate to him. Ellers, who began now to ſuſpect what was about to happen, looked gravely at the governor, and, inſtead of doing as he was bid, ſhut the regiſter, ſaying that he believed he had nothing more to write.

Guſtavus next proceeded to the guard-houſe of the artillery, where the oath was eagerly taken. He ſent to invite the principal members of the diet to come to him; and at the ſame

* It was baron von Cederſtröhm. He made no anſwer; but preſented his ſword to the king; upon which he was committed to priſon.

time

time ſent detachments of ſoldiers, with cannon, to every gate of the city, in order that none of the chiefs from whoſe oppoſition he had any thing to apprehend might eſcape. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, however, general Peſchlin found means to get away *.

The remainder of the garriſon of Stockholm ſoon joined the troops which Guſtavus had collected about him. Several members of the diet alſo came to the ſupport of the king. Baron Rudbek, and ſome others of the moſt violent, were arreſted. The duke of Heſſenſtein, who had been promiſed by his party to be declared regent, refuſed to take the oath. But, as he was by no means dangerous, he was ſuffered to be at large on his parole.

Thoſe who eſpouſed the party of Guſtavus, tied a white handkerchief round their left arm. Preſently all the inhabitants of Stockholm adopted this ſign of adherence to the king: and the officers of the ſwediſh army wear it to

* A young man, named Hierta, ran after him for the purpoſe of ſtopping him. But the general took him by the arm, and ſaid to him with a ſneer:—"My poor "Hierta, it muſt be a different Hierta from thee to oblige "me to give up my arms!"—For underſtanding this play upon the word, it ſhould be known, that in the ſwediſh language *hierta* ſignifies *heart*.

this

this day. The aſſaſſin * alſo wore it, who ſince gave him his death's wound, by a piſtol-ſhot from behind.

The people ran in crowds to the king where-ever he paſſed. His majeſty frequently ſtopped to harangue them †; always recommending order and moderation. His exhortations were not without effect.

As ſoon as Guſtavus had made himſelf maſter of all the poſts of the city, and was ſure of the adherence of the inhabitants and the ſoldiers, he aſſembled in his palace the members of the diet; and, after having reproached them with their diſſenſions and their ambitious vanity, he concluded by ſaying:—"It is high time to reſcue "the ſwediſh people from ſervitude, and the "throne from oppreſſion. It is time to put a "ſtop to the corruption which diſhonours the "majority of thoſe who ſit in the diet and the "ſenate. It is notorious that they are always "ready to ſacrifice the intereſts of their country "to the gold of foreigners. If any one of you "can deny what I advance," added he, as he

* Ankarſtrœm.

† Never was a king ſo fond of making ſpeeches as Guſtavus III.; and it muſt be confeſſed that it was an art in which he particularly excelled.

roſe.

roſe up, "let him boldly ſtand forth, and con-"tradict me." No one thought fit to reply.

Guſtavus then read the plan of the conſtitution which he himſelf had drawn up. He was heard with the profoundeſt ſilence: and, when he had made an end of reading, he aſked the opinion of the ſtates, inviting them to deliver their obſervations freely, in order to enable him to correct whatever might be defective in his plan. But not one thought fit to produce his objections. Such as in their hearts were moſt diſinclined to the monarch, were the moſt unwilling to diſcloſe their ſentiments.

The new conſtitution was not adopted till the ſecond day after the revolution. Then it was that Guſtavus diſmiſſed the ſenators, who, for three days, had not been permitted to leave the hall, where they had been detained as priſoners. The greater part of them obtained places in the new ſenate.

All the officers who had joined the king's party were advanced one rank, and decorated with the military order. The principal inhabitants of Stockholm received medals of gold or ſilver, and the privilege of wearing them faſtened to the button-hole by a white ribbon. The ſubaltern officers alſo received medals,

ſuſpended to a blue ribbon. The ſoldiers were not forgotten: Guſtavus, who was very ſcantily provided with money*, gave them all that he had to diſpoſe of.

When the members of the faction in oppoſition to the king had recovered from their firſt conſternation, they ſaw, with no leſs confuſion than ſurpriſe, that in defeating them, the monarch had employed but very feeble means. It muſt indeed have appeared very ſtrange to them, that at the very moment when the diet was maſter of all the forces of the kingdom, and filled with enlightened men, it ſhould ſuffer its power to be raviſhed from it, by a young prince who had not above three or four hundred ſoldiers; and who was thought to be of a very frivolous character.

One of the men whom the revolution afflicted moſt was count Oſtermann, miniſter of Ruſſia. It deprived him of a great part of his influence; and, in order to regain it, he was continually encouraging the diſaffected to rid themſelves of the king's authority, to draw out the regiments that had remained faithful to them, and to con-

* The bankers of Stockholm refuſed to advance any money to the king. One alone, named Peil, lent him all the money he had. Guſtavus never forgot the obligation.

voke a new diet in ſome one of the remote provinces.

The turbulent chiefs of the Caps were but too much inclined to adopt theſe dangerous meaſures. Guſtavus was apprehenſive of it; and therefore had recourſe to artifice for repreſſing his factious ſubjects. He cauſed a report to be circulated, that a very conſiderable body of troops, under the orders of general Sprengporten, was juſt arrived within a few miles of Stockholm; and for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, he ſent off boats loaded with proviſions for theſe fictitious troops. At length the winds permitted Sprengporten to leave the coaſts of Finland, and to bring to Guſtavus a detachment from the garriſon of Sveaborg: but at his arrival he found that all was already quiet at Stockholm.

The provinces ſoon followed the example of the capital. The regiment of Upland, called by the diet, was ready to enter into Stockholm. General Ramſay went alone to meet it; and notwithſtanding the reſolution of ſeveral of the officers, carried his point in obliging it to take the oath of fidelity to the king *. The duke

* It was at firſt intended to arreſt general Ramſay. But an old and brave enſign, named Normelin, much beloved by the ſoldiers, determined them to take the oath; and the officers were drawn on by their example.

of

of Sudermania, and the duke of Oſtrogothia, brothers of the monarch, had been diſpatched to different parts of the kingdom, and found no difficulty in confirming the troops in their adherence to the royal cauſe. General Peſchlin was the only perſon who ſtarted any ſcruples: he was arreſted by the major of his own regiment; and the duke of Oſtrogothia received orders to ſend him priſoner to the caſtle of Gripſholm *.

The money that Guſtavus received from France †, ſerved to ſtrengthen his party, and to diminiſh the influence of Ruſſia; who was not backward however in diſtributing rubles among her adherents. Catharine heard with indignation the news of the change that had been brought about, in a country which ſhe was continually dividing, in order to ſubjugate at one time or other. She gave orders to count Oſtermann to take meaſures for reſtoring the

* He was confined in the ſame apartment that had been the priſon of the ferocious Erick XIV; and on the floor of it is ſtill to be ſeen, the track worn by the ſteps of that unfortunate king, by inceſſantly walking backwards and forwards from one corner of the room to the other.

† Hitherto the miniſters of France in Sweden had expended conſiderable ſums of money, in what were denominated ſecret ſervices. This money was afterwards given directly to the king.

government which Guſtavus had overturned. The miniſter ſet his agents to work with an impetuous ardour; but his efforts were ineffectual. Some explanations which he had with Guſtavus were terminated with harſhneſs; and at the commencement of 1776, Ruſſia having fitted out a fleet of gallies from Cronſtadt, an alarm was immediately raiſed at Stockholm.

1777. Guſtavus ſent to demand what might be the cauſe of this armament. He was anſwered in a manner by no means ſatisfactory. The gallies did not proceed to act againſt Sweden; but the uneaſineſs of the king did not therefore ſubſide. At length, wiſhing to know what were the real intentions of the court of Ruſſia, he came to the reſolution of going himſelf to confer with the empreſs.

On the 16th of June 1777, he arrived at St. Peterſburg, under the name of the count of Gothland, and accompanied by count Ulrik Scheffer, count von Poſſe, Monck, with ſeveral others of his courtiers. Only baron von Nolken, his ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia, had been appriſed of the voyage. Guſtavus alighted at this miniſter's hotel, and preſently after made a viſit to count Panin.

The empreſs was at Tzarſko-ſelo. Guſtavus went thither in the afternoon, and had an interview

view with her majeſty, in which they diſplayed to each other a cordiality equally feigned on both ſides.

Sumptuous entertainments were laviſhed on the ſwediſh monarch. The empreſs was reſolved to give him a high idea of the magnificence and pleaſures of her court. She often diſcourſed with him, ſtudied his character with her uſual penetration; and, before many days had elapſed, plainly perceived that preſumption was his principal defect.

Having made this diſcovery, Catharine directly propoſed to reap advantage from it, by inducing Guſtavus to embark in ſome dangerous enterpriſe. His qualities, more ſhining than ſolid, his affability, the pleaſures he was ever providing for his court, gained him the love of his people; but one moment's imprudence might leſſen him in their eſteem, and even render him odious in their ſight. The empreſs endeavoured to haſten that moment in the following manner.

Converſing one day with Guſtavus, her majeſty ſpoke of the obſtacles frequently experienced by ſovereigns in their attempts to improve the civilization of their dominions, by introducing ſome alterations in the dreſs, the cuſtoms, and

the manners of the nation. She obſerved that it was not only difficult to bring about theſe changes, but extremely hazardous to think of ſucceeding in too abrupt a manner. She ſaid, with reaſon, that mankind being in general the ſlaves of habit, they beheld with averſion every new inſtitution; and, in favour of her opinion, ſhe omitted not to cite the example of Peter the great, and the reſiſtance oppoſed to that legiſlator when he only wanted to induce the Ruſſians to cut off their beards.

Guſtavus replied, that if ſovereigns failed of ſucceſs in the changes they were deſirous of making, it was doubtleſs rather their own fault than that of the people; and that, how much ſoever the latter were attached to their habits, they would willingly ſacrifice them to the monarch who had the art of making himſelf beloved. He remarked that mankind were leſs attached to their habits than to their fortunes, and their life; and that they would nevertheleſs frequently expoſe both the one and the other from attachment to their ſovereign.—"But," added he, "in all things there is a proper ſeaſon "which muſt be ſkilfully ſeized. When we let "it ſlip, it is for want of attention; and then the "ſucceſs does not correſpond with our efforts.

"There

" There is alſo a certain manner of executing " a deſign; and it was becauſe Peter the great " had neither that manner nor the attention " neceſſary for ſeizing the tide of affairs, that " he experienced the difficulties which the em- " preſs has juſt been noticing."

Catharine produced additional reaſons in ſupport of what ſhe had before adduced. She prolonged the diſcuſſion till Guſtavus began to imagine his ſelf-love was concerned to prove his aſſertions by facts: whereupon ſhe defied him to prevail on the ſwediſh nation to adopt a new mode of dreſs.

The monarch accepted the challenge: and ſome time after his return to Sweden, he introduced the theatrical dreſs that is ſtill continued to be worn at the court of Stockholm. He did not indeed enforce the alteration by a law. He contented himſelf with directing a letter to the governors of the provinces, in which he recommended them to employ no other methods but thoſe of gentleneſs and perſuaſion. He ſpeciouſly pretended, that the fantaſtic habit of his own invention was ſimilar to that of the ancient Swedes. At the ſame time he took care to propoſe it only to the courtiers, the public functionaries, the military, and the burghers: the i fe ior claſs of the people

were not even invited to put it on *. It was, however, partly adopted by them.

The viſit that Guſtavus made to Peterſburg by no means augmented his eſteem for the empreſs, and confirmed her majeſty in the deſire of humbling this young and turbulent rival. However, as he had been received at Peterſburg with all the ſplendour and magnificence peculiar to that court; the preſents on his taking leave were in the ſame grand ſtyle with the entertainment; and the jewels of the eaſtern world loſt no part of their luſtre in the frozen regions of the north.

The autumn was attended with a moſt dreadful calamity to the city and neighbourhood of Peterſburg. It is a fault in the ſituation of that city, that it is liable to inundations; but that which now happened was by far more extenſive and deſtructive than any thing of the ſort which had ever been known before †.

* This habit is at preſent ſcarcely worn except at court. During the time the author was at Stockholm, he very rarely ſaw it in private companies.

† The precautions for the prevention of ſuch fatal effects from ſimilar accidents in future have been already mentioned, p. 363. in ſpeaking of the police regulations.

It

It had ſeemed for ſome years paſt as if voyages to Peterſburg were the faſhion. Shortly after the departure of the king of Sweden, the waves of the gulph of Finland had the honour to waft to the mouth of the Neva the magnificent yacht of no leſs a perſonage than the ducheſs of Kingſton, famed for her beauty, her wit, her luxury, and her licentious adventures. This lady thought herſelf not unworthy of living at the court of Catharine; and ſhe was received by that monarch with marks of the moſt gracious condeſcenſion, who aſſured her, at the ſame time, that her veſſel having ſuffered in the late violent tempeſt on her coaſts, the laws of hoſpitality required that it ſhould be completely refitted by her people, and at the imperial expence. Accordingly, all its ſtores and ſumptuous furniture were brought on ſhore, and lodged in the apartments of the admiralty, till the winter had ſet in; when, with the labour of ſome hundreds of people, and by means of levers and engines conſtructed for the purpoſe, the yacht was lifted on the ice, in which ſituation it was reſtored to its former condition. In the mean time, the ducheſs, inſtead of exhibiting that dignity of behaviour and elegance of manners which might have been expected from a perſon of ſuch exalted rank, ſeemed at times, by oſtentatious diſplays

plays of her wealth, to rival the entertainments of the palace; and at others, behaved with ſuch ſervility and meanneſs, as to excite univerſal contempt: the empreſs withdrew her attentions; and, uneaſy in the neglect and obſcurity in which ſhe was ſunk, the diſappointed peereſs ſet out for Italy, where ſhe was ſure of not wanting leſs haughty companions and idolatrous paraſites.

Since the election of khan Sahim-Gueray, the diſturbances of the Krimea had been continually increaſing. The Turks, incenſed at the flight of Doulet, abandoned his cauſe, and ſet up Selim-Gueray in his place. Thus there were at that time two new khans; one ſupported by the Turks, and the other by the Ruſſians. The latter, who had it in view to deliver the whole Krimea to the khan under their protection, in order the more eaſily to deſpoil him of it, furniſhed him with a guard compoſed of their own ſoldiers: the Tartars were jealous of this guard, fell upon it by ſurpriſe, and ſlaughtered the greater part with their ſabres.

1778. Little was wanting before to bring the contending empires to a complete rupture; this then afforded ample cauſe for an open declaration of war. The empreſs immediately diſpatched freſh troops into the Krimea. Prince Prozoroffsky, who was placed at their head, attacked the

the Tartars who oppoſed Sahim-Gueray, and gave them a total defeat. His competitor Selim was forced to flee, and take refuge in the mountains.

During this time Staſchieff, miniſter from Ruſſia to Conſtantinople, was ſolliciting the Porte to acknowledge Sahim-Gueray; but the Porte, adhering to its engagements, and particularly to its oriental pride, reſolved to aſſert the cauſe of Selim.

Marſhal Romantzoff then gave the divan to know, that the Krimea had put itſelf under the protection of Ruſſia, and that the empreſs would rather re-kindle the flames of war, than abandon Sahim-Gueray. This haughty meſſage was but ill-ſuited to gain the concurrence of the Turks; they ſeemed exaſperated at it, and reſolute to put the diſpute to the deciſion of the ſword. But they were reſtrained by a foreign influence. One ambaſſador of France * had induced them to enter into the preceding war: his † ſucceſſor prevented him from engaging in a new one. When the ruſſian miniſter was taking his leave of Conſtantinople, the greater part of the ulemas ‡ and the riglialis, of whom the divan was compoſed, were averſe to the meaſure.

* M. de Vergennes. † M. de Saint-Prieſt.

‡ The lawyers.

The

The miniſters of the other powers were at the ſame time buſy in negotiating with the divan; and that council continued wavering between the divers impulſions it received. Perceiving the tardineſs and indeciſion of the Ottomans, the Ruſſians renewed their activity. By means of preſents and promiſes they gained new partiſans in the Krim, and concluded by making themſelves maſters of that country, while they talked of nothing but its independence. However, by preparing for war, they endeavoured to prevent it. Marſhal Romantzoff had an interview with the famous capudan paſha; but found it impracticable to come to any terms of accommodation. They parted diſſatisfied with each other.

The empreſs relied on an aſſiſtance which ſhe alone ſeemed able to procure. She had obtained from the ſovereign of Perſia, Kerim-khan, the promiſe of attacking the Turks in Aſia, while ſhe preſſed upon them in Europe; but the death of that prince, who was aſſaſſinated by one of his officers, ſaved the Ottomans from a double aggreſſion.

Catharine was more ſucceſsful in the meaſures ſhe took for ſecuring peace. The diviſions which haraſſed Germany on account of the ſucceſſion of Bavaria, and the war which had juſt broke out between England and France, left no leiſure

leiſure to thoſe powers to take any great concern in the conteſts between the Turks and the Ruſſians. Even thoſe who had induced the former to take up arms, adviſed them to lay them down, deſirous that Ruſſia ſhould be at liberty to make common cauſe with them.

In the mean time the divan continued ſtill undetermined. The people of Conſtantinople called out for war; they even broke out in murmurs againſt the capudan paſha for returning to the ſea of Marmara without having fought the Ruſſians.

The ruſſian miniſter Staſchieff was attacked on the road not far from Conſtantinople by two galiongis or turkiſh ſailors, with the intent to kill him. The capudan paſha cauſed them to be ſeized and ſtrangled on the ſpot: but their horrid attempt was a ſufficient indication of the diſpoſitions of the multitude.

The Turks could not eaſily prevail on themſelves to pardon Ruſſia for her ſucceſſes and her invaſions, as inceſſantly recalling to their mind their multiplied defeats and the humiliating peace they had been forced to ſign. They could not behold with complacency the Ruſſians almoſt entirely maſters of the Euxine, diſplaying their flag even under the walls of Conſtantinople, and extending their flouriſhing commerce from

ſea

ſea to ſea. The independence of the Krimea was a ſubject of grief: its ſubjugation to the Ruſſians exceeded their patience.

Some other differences had ariſen between the court of Peterſburg and the Ottoman Porte. By the laſt treaty of peace the Ruſſians had obtained ſeveral privileges for the greek chriſtians diſperſed in great numbers throughout the extenſive countries of Moldavia and Vallakhia. From that period ſeveral inhabitants of the oppoſite ſhore of the Danube, who profeſſed the greek religion, abandoned their country to go over into the provinces where toleration prevailed. All theſe chriſtians were far more attached to the power to which they were indebted for the new advantages they enjoyed, than to that by which they had ſo long been oppreſſed. Ruſſia was aiming at more: ſhe was ſecretly practiſing means for rendering them entirely independent on the Porte; and for carrying that point ſhe began by inſiſting that the princes or governors * of Moldavia and Vallakhia ſhould not be liable to be depoſed on any pretence whatever.

This affranchiſement appeared no leſs unjuſt in the eyes of the Turks, than the ceſſion of the

* They bear the title of deſpots.

Krimea.

Krimea. However, the firſt meaſures taken by the ambaſſador of France had not been without effect. Thoſe which followed were attended by ſtill greater ſucceſs. He prevailed on the divan to releaſe ſeveral ruſſian veſſels, which, for more than a year, had been detained in the turkiſh harbours; and not long afterwards a new treaty was ſigned* by his mediation.

1779. In purſuance of this treaty, the Ruſſians deſiſted from ſome of their exaggerated claims in regard to the provinces of Moldavia and Vallakhia, as well as of the Krimea, which they promiſed to evacuate. The Porte granted thoſe of its ſubjects who profeſſed the greek religion the privileges to which they laid claim. It acknowledged the independence of the Krimea, and the ſovereignty of khan Sahim-Gueray, and ſtill farther enlarged the privilege that had already been granted the Ruſſians to navigate the ottoman ſeas.

The zeal ſhewn by the french ambaſſador to accelerate the ſignature of this treaty was founded on the wiſhes of his court to deprive Great Britain of the ſupport it derived from Ruſſia. The attempt was crowned with ſucceſs. The

* The 21ſt of March 1779.

cloſe

cloſe alliance that had ſo long ſubſiſted between London and Peterſburg, if not broke off, was at leaſt greatly weakened; and the French were ſecure from ſeeing in arms againſt them a power which ſtood indebted to them for its peace.

Catharine was ſo ſatisfied with this peace, that ſhe ſent magnificent preſents both to her miniſter at Conſtantinople and to the ambaſſador of France *: the former of whom alſo preſented to the grand ſignor and the favourite ſultana jewels to the amount of 300,000 rubles in value. The grand vizir and the principal members of the divan were likewiſe favoured with teſti-

* The ruſſian miniſter Staſchieff received a property in land, on which were 1000 peaſants. M. de Saint-Prieſt was decorated with the order of St. Andrew, with the ſtar of it compoſed of diamonds. The empreſs alſo ſent him her portrait ſet with brilliants, as well as ſome remarkably fine furs, and a ſuperb ſolitaire for madame de Saint-Prieſt: the whole together valued at 50,000 rubles. M. de Saint-Prieſt received, beſides, three bills of exchange of at leaſt 5000 rubles each, and has ſince had a penſion ſettled on him of 6000 rubles. Being at Stockholm at the commencement of 1792, he put an advertiſement in the gazette, ſignifying, that he had diamonds to diſpoſe of to the amount of 14,000 rix-dollars. Upon this there appeared bills ſtuck up in various parts of the city, announcing:—"Political "forfeits to be ſold, to the value of 14,000 rix-dollars. To "inquire of the count de Saint-Prieſt."—He is now prime-miniſter to Louis XVIII. at Mittau.

monies of her munificence and that of Potemkin *.

Great reaſon the empreſs undoubtedly had to congratulate herſelf on a treaty which left her at liberty to indulge, without fighting, her ever-increaſing views of invaſion, and in her ſchemes of extending the commerce of her vaſt dominions! The inequality of climate, the defect of population, and the unproductiveneſs of a part of the ſoil, are no impediments to the immenſe reſources afforded by theſe countries to commerce. Situated in Europe and in Aſia, the Ruſſians may eaſily traffic with all the world. The Caſpian ſerves them as a communication with Perſia and India; the ſea of Azoff and the Euxine open to them a channel for the conveyance of the productions of the north into the Mediterranean, and for bringing to the north thoſe of the Levant; Kamtchatka on one ſide offers them a way to America, and on the other to China and Japan: in a word, the White Sea and the Baltic afford them a correſpondence with moſt of the nations of Europe, to which their commerce is become indiſpenſable.

* Potemkin, who had lately been created prince of the holy roman empire, wrote a letter of thanks to M. de Saint-Prieſt, and another to the grand vizir, to whom he alſo ſent a watch ſet with diamonds.

Free to navigate ſo many ſeas, and dominatrix of ſome, Catharine could not endure that any other power ſhould pretend to a right of maſtery in them; and one of the cauſes that contributed to detach her from the Engliſh was, the jealouſy they raiſed in her breaſt, by attempting to force from every power an acknowledgment of the ſuperiority of their flag.

Nevertheleſs the commerce with the Engliſh was too advantageous to the empreſs, to admit of her conſenting to loſe it. While ſhe refuſed them aſſiſtance, ſhe was oppreſſing them with civilities. While ſhe calmly looked on as they were loſing a part of their colonies, ſhe invited them to come and fetch from her ports, the products they could no longer obtain from the continent of America; and was delighted to ſee their veſſels arrive at Archangel in greater numbers from year to year.

She welcomed, at the ſame time, the american ſhips; and in oppoſition to the ſollicitations of the britiſh miniſter, ſhe granted them the free navigation of the Baltic.

A few years before *, ſhe had concluded with the court of Verſailles, a treaty in virtue whereof a french factory was to be eſtabliſhed

* In 1766, the marquis de Beauſſet was at that time miniſter from France to St. Peterſburg.

at

at Archangel; but the French, whoſe commercial views were directed almoſt entirely towards the Antilles, derived no advantage from that permiſſion. In time they perhaps may learn, that the commerce of the north, leſs deſtructive than that of the burning climes, makes them lucrative offers, if not ſo brilliant, at leaſt on terms more equal and more ſure.

We have paſſed over a great number of banquets and grand entertainments given by the empreſs in the courſe of the preſent and the foregoing years; as well as ſome other events of inferior moment to thoſe that have been deſcribed. We are ſtill in time to mention a few of them.

The anniverſary of the acceſſion of the empreſs to the throne, and the birth-day of the grand duke*, were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and ſignaliſed by a numerous promotion of general officers.

Catharine alſo celebrated, with pomp, the ſeveral feſtivals of her orders of chivalry; and conſented to diſcharge the functions of ſovereign of the order of the Bath, by conferring the badges of that order on ſir James Harris †, to whom they had been ſent by the britiſh monarch.

* The 9th July. † Now lord Malmeſbury.

After having ſtruck him on the ſhoulder with a ſword richly ſet with diamonds, and having ſaid, conformably with the ſtatutes of the order:—"Au nom de Dieu, ſoyez bon et loyal "chevalier,"—ſhe preſented him with the ſword, addreſſing him in theſe words:—"Pour "vous temoigner combien je ſuis contente de "vous, je vous fais préſent de l'épée avec "laquelle je vous ai imprimé le caractére de "chevalier *."

Some few days before †, the empreſs had given a grand entertainment in honour of the ſea-fight at Tſcheſmè, and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. On this occaſion a ſuperb maſquerade and ſupper were given in the ſummer-gardens ‡; at which the company remained till very late in the enſuing morning.

During

* "In the name of God, be a good and loyal knight."—"To teſtify how well I am ſatisfied with you, I make you "a preſent of the ſword with which I have ſtamped you "with the order of knighthood." Preciſely the ſame ceremony was obſerved at the knighting of ſir Charles Whitworth in 1795.

† On the feaſt of St. John.

‡ This ſingular denomination ſeems not, as ſome have ſuppoſed, to have been adopted from the cool and ſhady walks, or in contradiſtinction to the winter-garden at the palace; but probably it was formerly called the garden of

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During the reign of Catharine, the riches and ſplendor of the ruſſian court ſurpaſſed the powers

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the ſummer-palace, from whence by corruption it has got its preſent name. It properly belonged to the imperial ſummer-palace, which was a large wooden pile of building, and has been entirely taken down by the emperor Paul, having long been unworthy of its appellation, but was at times frequented by Catharine for a few days, on removing earlier than uſual from her ſummer-retreat at Tzarſko-ſelo. The gardens, which are now entirely devoted to the uſe of the public, are not indeed very ſpacious; but notwithſtanding the uniformity of the dutch taſte in which they are laid out, they contain ſome intereſting parts. The beautiful walks, ſhaded by old venerable lime and linden-trees, afford an agreeable refuge from the oppreſſive heats of the long ſummer days, and ſuch a glorious view of the Neva as perhaps is not to be matched in the moſt ſplendid towns of Europe. The eye of the connoiſſeur is likewiſe not without its gratification. Some of the principal walks have ſtatues of marble and alabaſter at proper intervals along the ſides, brought from Italy in ſome of the former reigns. But the fineſt pieces of art are contained in a grotto, which now only ſpeaks its antient magnificence by its ruins. Facing this grotto are two ſtatues by Conradini: Religion and Faith, to which the judges of the art aſſign an honourable place among the curioſities of the reſidence. They are female figures in wet drapery, with their faces veiled; and the noble ideal form juſt appearing through the marble veſture, fills the beholder with the more charming amazement as his imagination completes the forms, which in the repreſentation are only as it were ſuggeſted, by a ſtandard not attainable

powers of deſcription: it united the profuſion of aſiatic pomp with the ingenious invention of european luxury. On court-days, and more particularly on feſtivals, a very great multitude of perſonages ſurrounded the empreſs, ſome going before, and ſome following her; whoſe rich and ſparkling clothes were covered with a prodigality of precious ſtones. This produced an

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in reality. Theſe excellent pieces and other choice productions of the italian chiſel ſeem here, with the grotto, to be conſigned to oblivion and the admiration of ſpectators of taſte. Not ſo another ſtatue, which obtrudes itſelf upon the view in the principal walk: Luxury, repreſented by a female without any drapery, ſtanding in a bold attitude, and which, playing the wanton, with alluring ſmiles, may be farther deſcribed, as the porcupine has been by the poet:

Seſe jaculus, ſeſe arcus, ſeſeque pharetra.

Theſe gardens are always much frequented during the ſummer, by all whoſe buſineſs or inclination keeps them in town. But their moſt brilliant days are at Whitſuntide, when all people of faſhion and the public in general make it a ſort of duty to aſſemble in them. At this ſeaſon perſons of quality of both ſexes even forſake their country ſeats, to figure in the grand allée of the ſummer-gardens, where all are dreſſed as at the opera and chapeau bas. Thoſe who do not chooſe to appear in the height of the faſhion, confine themſelves to the ſide-walks. The granite columns and iron work erected by Catharine the ſecond at the entrance to theſe gardens, are a monument of her taſte, and at preſent has not its equal in the world.

effect,

effect, of which the brilliancy of other courts can only give a faint idea.

The court-dreſs for the men, was a coat *à la françaiſe*; and for the ladies, a gown and whale-bone boddice; the former with long ſleeves, and a ſhort train, of a different colour from the boddice. The ladies, in general, dreſſed according to the prevailing modes at Paris. Among the diſplays of luxury exhibited by the ruſſian nobility, nothing is more ſtriking to foreigners, than that vaſt quantity of diamonds and precious ſtones of which we have juſt ſpoken; and the rather as in the other countries of Europe diamonds and jewels are peculiarly appropriated to the ſtately appearance of ladies. Here men and women ſeemed to have challenged one another who ſhould be moſt loaded with diamonds. This expreſſion is not exaggerated; for numbers of the principal people of faſhion were almoſt covered with them: their buttons, their buckles, the ſcabbards of their ſwords, their epaulets, conſiſted of diamonds; and many perſons even wore a triple row of precious ſtones round the border of their hat. This paſſion for jewels had even deſcended to the rank of private individuals, who are fond of aping the great; and yet, after all, are but common people: in

this claſs of perſons were families who poſſeſſed as many diamonds as the nobles. The wife of a ruſſian burgher would bring her unhappy huſband to ruin, only that ſhe might make her appearance with a head-dreſs or girdle of pearls or precious ſtones, to the value of ſome thouſand rubles.

On the grand ceremonial days, it was the cuſtom of the empreſs to dine in public. On theſe occaſions ſhe uſually wore a diamond-crown of immenſe value; the ribbons of St. Andrew and of St. George both over one ſhoulder, with the collars of St. Alexander Nefsky, St. Catharine, and St. Vladimir, and two ſtars, one above the other, on her breaſt; as grand-maſter of the two firſt-mentioned orders: with all which, it may well be imagined, the empreſs made a ſhining appearance. The courtiers followed the example of the ſovereign; and it may be ſafely affirmed, that no court in Europe, that of Spain not excepted, was equally brilliant.

From the mention of theſe decorations it is ſeen, that in Ruſſia there are five orders of chivalry: St. Andrew, St. Catharine, St. Alexander Nefsky, and St. Vladimir. To theſe muſt be added, the order of St. Anne of Holſtein; which, however, the empreſs never conferred,

ferred, leaving that prerogative to the grand duke as duke of Holſtein. The three firſt were inſtituted by Peter the great: the order of St. Andrew, in 1698, in order to animate the nobility, in his war againſt the Turks; chooſing that ſaint as patron of the order, from the ruſſian tradition, that St. Andrew introduced chriſtianity among them. The knights of this order, among whom were the kings of Sweden and Poland, wear the figure of the ſaint on an enamelled croſs, formed by the imperial eagle: at the corners of the croſs are the four letters, S. A. P. R. Sanctus Andreas Patronus Ruſſiæ; and in the middle an A. the initial of the empreſs Anne, who framed the ſtatutes and aſſigned the habit of the order. The feaſt is held on the 30th of November. In 1790 it had 63 knights.

The order of St. Catharine was inſtituted in 1714, in memory of the aſſiſtance received by Peter I. from his conſort, in the camp on the Pruth. Thoſe writers who pretend that this order is worn by both ſexes, are miſtaken: it is beſtowed only on ladies; and among them are ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed ſtation in Germany. They wear a narrow red ribbon, edged with ſilver, to which the figure of the ſaint is ſuſ-

pended, ſet with diamonds, and a ſilver ſtar of eight points, on the left breaſt, with the inſcription, *Amore et fidelitate.* In 1790 their number was 25.

The order of St. Alexander Neſsky was inſtituted by Catharine I. in 1725. The badge is a golden eight-pointed ſtar, enamelled with red, with the figure of St. Alexander in armour, on horſeback. At the four corners of the croſs are as many gold ſpread-eagles, crowned. A broad, deep red, watered ribbon is worn over the left ſhoulder; the motto is in ruſſian characters, which ſignify, *For labour and patriotiſm.* The feaſt is held on the 30th of Auguſt. The monarch, as grand-maſter, and the knights, attend maſs at the Kaſan church, at 11 o'clock, from whence they go a pilgrimage on foot, to the monaſtery of the ſaint, ſituate at the diſtance of three verſts; where, at the ſilver ſhrine of St. Alexander, they attend maſs again, and then return to the winter-palace, where they partake of a ſumptuous dinner, under a diſcharge of cannon. The whole foot-way, from the Kaſan church to the Neſsky monaſtery, is laid with boards, covered with red cloth. However, for ſeveral years, latterly, the empreſs has gone the evening before the feſtival, to the monaſtery,

and

and made her devotions, as the knights do on the day of the order. In the year 1790 they amounted to 122.

Catharine II. founded the two orders of St. George and St. Vladimir. The former, in 1769, is a military order, and divided into four claſſes. Its badges are a black ribbon, with a George and dragon. Its holiday is the 26th of November. In 1790, this order was worn, of the firſt claſs by 8, of the ſecond by 11, of the third by 46, and of the fourth by 496 knights. A ſpecific number of each claſs enjoy penſions, of from 100 to 700 rubles.

The order of St. Vladimir; or, as it is in the patents, of the prince equal to an apoſtle Vladimir, was inſtituted by her late majeſty the 22d of September 1782, her 20th coronation-day. Its chapter is held in the church of St. Sophia. The badges, an eight-pointed ſtar, interchangeably of gold and ſilver, having a red area, bearing a croſs, with the ruſſian letters, C. P. K. B. *Svætago Ravnoapoſtelnago Knæſa Vladimira, i. e.* the holy apoſtle-like prince Vladimir. Round it the words: *Polſa, Tſcheſt i Slava*, Utility, Honour, and Fame: with a ribbon of two black and one red ſtripes. The number of knights in 1790 was 716.

The

The holſtein order of St. Anne, founded by Charles Frederic duke of Holſtein, in 1735, in honour of his conſort the ruſſian princeſs Anna, has for its badge a red enamelled croſs, having on one ſide the figure of St. Anne, on the other the letters, A. I. P. F. *Amantibus Juſtitiam, Pietatem, Fidem*, ſuſpended to a broad red ribbon, edged with yellow, worn over the right ſhoulder, with an embroidered ſtar on the breaſt. In 1790 it was worn by 214 knights.

The number of knights therefore, of all the ſix ruſſian orders, at the beginning of 1790, was 1487.

Beſides theſe, there were ladies of the portrait, who wore the miniature of the empreſs, ſet with diamonds.

During the winter, the empreſs gave maſquerades at the palace, to which perſons of all ranks might come. Sometimes the number of tickets given out was 8000. On hearing this, it might be ſuppoſed that the crowd would be uncommonly great; but that was not the caſe; twenty magnificent halls, ſplendidly illuminated, afforded ſufficient room to all this multitude. In the middle of one of theſe ſpacious apartments was an incloſure, made by a low baluſtrade, more adorned than all the reſt: this was appropriated to the nobility and the motley-coloured group

of

of courtiers. One elegant room, called the Apollo, able to contain a conſiderably greater number of people than the great room at Ranelagh, and of an oval form, was appropriated to thoſe burghers who had not been preſented at court: in another, where tea and other refreſhments were ſerved, were card-tables, at which all perſons might ſit down without ceremony. Every one was at liberty to keep on his maſk or to lay it aſide. The nobility univerſally wore dominos.

The Ruſſians of the inferior claſſes at theſe balls wore the uſual dreſſes of their reſpective provinces; only ſomewhat more decorated than common. Theſe various habits, ſome of which were extremely ſingular, produced a greater diverſity of figures, than ever the richeſt imagination invented in the maſquerades of other countries. Yet here were never ſeen ſuch groups of maſqueraders as are met with in Italy, Spain, and Conſtantinople; where one company, for example, repreſents a village-wedding, or a paſſage from the national hiſtory, or a dramatical piece of ſatire aimed at ſome particular perſon of the court. Her majeſty appeared commonly at theſe balls, as on the other occaſions already mentioned, at about ſeven in the evening, and retired at about eleven.

But,

But, to proceed with our hiſtory. Catharine, who now thought herſelf at the eve of a new war with the Turks, was deſirous of animating by her preſence the zeal of her mariners. Accordingly, embarking in a yacht at Peterhoff, ſhe went on board the ſquadron then cruiſing between Cronſtadt and Kraſna-gorca.

Admiral Barſch, who commanded this ſquadron, as well as his officers, received ſeveral marks of the monarch's approbation.

A great part of the city of Tver being conſumed by fire, the empreſs immediately granted to the inhabitants whoſe houſes were burnt, a relief of 100,000 rubles.

Peterſburg, at this time, experienced a diſaſter which the bounty of the ſovereign could not repair. One of the farmers of the brandy-duties *, who had made an immenſe fortune by his

* A german author gives the following information concerning the immenſe conſumption of ſpirituous liquors in the north. The diſtillery forms a conſiderable part of the internal commerce and of the revenues of Ruſſia.—Theſe ſpirituous liquors are diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; that diſtilled from corn, that of Dantzick, and thoſe of France and Spain. The common people of Ruſſia uſe only the firſt ſort. All the nobles have the right to diſtil it: but they may not ſell it. The empreſs reſerved that privilege to herſelf. The conſumption of this brandy amounts to 12 millions of vedroes *per annum*. The government ought to gain,

his contract, propoſed to give a feaſt to the inhabitants of the city, in teſtimony of his gratitude to thoſe who had contributed to enrich him. The victuals, the beer, the brandy, which he cauſed to be ſerved, coſt him 20,000 rubles. The populace flocked in crowds to the place adjoining to the ſummer-gardens, where he gave this enormous repaſt; and, in ſpite of the precautions that had been taken, diſturbances ſoon aroſe among this motley throng of gueſts. The contentions firſt began about the places and the better kinds of proviſion ſpread upon the board; from ſtruggles and noiſe they proceeded

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gain, upon the ſale of this quantity, 24 millions of rubles; whereas it really gains only five; that is to ſay, three ariſing from the governments of Peterſburg and Moſco, and two from Siberia and the other provinces; the ſurplus of the profit being detained by the fraudulent contractors.—Foreigners, and the nobility, conſume only the brandy of Dantzick, and thoſe of France and Spain, which are preferred. The purchaſe-money of the contract of this latter, which expired in 1774, amounted to 116,000 rubles. The profit on it to the farmers was 760,000 rubles. Their privilege allowed them to import it only in ankers: but, inſtead of brandy, they procured ſpirits of wine, which they mixed with water. They moreover engaged merchants to import brandy; and the importation-dues which they received have often ariſen to 200,000 rubles.

to

to blows. Several perſons were killed; others became ſo intoxicated, that they fell aſleep in the ſtreets, and periſhed by the ſeverity of the froſt. The number of people who loſt their lives amounted in all to at leaſt 500.

Catharine, amidſt the military and political cares that crowded on her mind, always found time for peaceful inſtitutions and pleaſures. That the empreſs was even an authoreſs is well known. She ſometimes took up the pen; but it was always to inſtruct and to improve. Her "Inſtruction for the code of laws," on which ſuch general praiſe has ſo juſtly been beſtowed, the generality of her ordinances, manifeſtos, &c. were all, during the whole of her long reign, compoſed and drawn up by herſelf. Amidſt the perplexities of a thouſand different affairs, ſhe threw her thoughts upon paper with great facility; for her mind was ever cheerful and even: witneſs her printed letters in ſeveral languages. One great aim of illumination ſhe promoted by her comedies, in which fanaticiſm, ſuperſtition, and enthuſiaſm were properly attacked, both with ſerioufneſs and ridicule. Happy the country where reaſon has the voice of the monarch on her ſide! One word from ſuch lips is of more conſequence than the moſt ſolid demonſtrations;

ſtrations; which folly, after all, cannot comprehend, and to which vanity will never hearken.

But there were other amuſements to which Catharine remained ever attached. Though ſhe frequently changed her lover, her diſpoſition to love was always uniform. The ſervian Zoritch had fixed it for a twelvemonth, in which time he had received conſiderable preſents, and the rank of major-general. Potemkin was neither jealous of the fortune nor the favours enjoyed by Zoritch. On the contrary, he gave him his ſupport, fearing leſt his place might be filled by ſome more dangerous man. Catharine herſelf ſeemed daily more ſatisfied with her favourite. But all at once ſhe gave him orders to quit the court.

Zoritch immediately ran and complained to Potemkin; who had the aſſurance to aſk the empreſs for what reaſon ſhe had diſcarded her humble friend?—"I was fond of him yeſter-"day, and to-day I am not," replied the em-preſs. "Perhaps, if he were ſomewhat more "informed, I might love him ſtill. But his "ignorance puts me to the bluſh. He can "ſpeak no other language than ruſs. Let him "travel into France and England to learn "foreign languages."

Potemkin reſpected the caprice of the ſovereign. Zoritch ſet out for France *.

The ſame day Potemkin, buſy in looking out for a ſucceſſor to Zoritch, and going to paſs the evening at the hermitage, perceived with aſtoniſhment behind the chair of Catharine a chamberlain of whom he had not the leaſt knowledge. It was Rimſky Korzakoff. From the humble rank of a ſerjeant of the guards, Korzakoff had been ſuddenly raiſed to that of aid-de-camp-general to the empreſs, and honoured with all thoſe marks of bounty which the generoſity of that princeſs uſually conferred on her favourites.

Korzakoff was endowed with a handſome figure, and was of a very elegant ſtature; but having neither talents nor attainments, he was no more capable that Zoritch of making attacks on the influence and authority of prince Potemkin. One ſingle fact will ſuffice to delineate his character. As ſoon as he had obtained the place of favourite, he thought that a man like him, among the other arrangements in his houſe, ought neceſſarily to provide himſelf with a

* Zoritch ſpent ſome time at Paris, in the hotel of M. Simolin, the ruſſian ambaſſador. At preſent he lives at Schkloff, a ſmall town in the government of Mohilef in White Ruſſia, on the Dnieper; where he has a theatre, and lives at an enormous expence. With an annual income of 200,000 rubles, he is conſtantly plagued by the importunity of creditors.

library.

library. Accordingly, he ſent for the principal bookſeller of Peterſburg, and told him that he wanted books to put up in the grand houſe of Vaſſiltſchikoff, of which the empreſs had juſt made him a preſent. The bookſeller aſked him what books he would pleaſe to have. "You "underſtand that better than I," returned the favourite; "that is your buſineſs. You know "the proper aſſortments; I have deſtined a large "room to receive them. Let there be large "books at the bottom, and ſmaller and ſmaller "up to the top: that is the way they ſtand in "the empreſs's library *."

* "But how did you contrive to find a ſufficient quan-"tity of the large books for the bottom ranks, ſince folios "are now ſo much out of faſhion?" ſaid a perſon who happened to call at Weitbrecht's ſhop, while his counters and floors were loaded with the books juſt come from the binder's for executing this curious order. "Oh, I went to "my warehouſe, and brought out a number of old german "commentators on the bible, and writers on juriſprudence, "where they had lain in quires ever ſince they were ſent to "my predeceſſor for a bad debt of a bankrupt bookſeller "at Leipſik. There they are. See how gay they look "in their new coats. I have only to take care to put up "a ſet of Voltaire, of Rouſſeau, of Buffon, and other "faſhionable french authors, in conſpicuous parts of the "library, to be at hand in caſe ſome inquiſitive viſitor ſhould "aſk for them; and as for the reſt, their elegant outſides, "as is common in the world, muſt be a paſſport for any de-"ficiency within."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

No. I.

SUBSTANCE *of the* TREATY *between the Courts of* PETERSBURG *and* BERLIN, *ratified the* 15*th of April* 1764.

BY articles 1 and 2, a treaty of defenſive alliance, and a mutual guarantee, are agreed to, after reſerving the liberty of concluding other treaties not contrary to the preſent.

3—9. In caſe of a foreign attack, 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry are promiſed, three months after the firſt requiſition, to be continued till a ceſſation of hoſtilities. If theſe are not ſufficient, means to be concerted to employ additional force. The troops to be paid, and furniſhed with ammunition, by the party aſſiſting; proviſions and quarters to be furniſhed by the aſſiſted. The troops to receive orders from their own general, and to have their own religion and laws.

10. No peace, &c. to be concluded without mutual conſent.

11. In caſe of war on the part of the aſſiſting party, it ſhall be exempted from furniſhing its quota, or ſhall be at liberty to withdraw its forces, after two months notice.

12. A free commerce between the two ſtates.

13, 14. The treaty to be in force eight years, and renewable before the expiration, according to circumſtances. Ratifications to be exchanged in ſix weeks.

By a ſecret article it is engaged to maintain Poland in its right of a free election, and to prevent all hereditary ſucceſſion.

No. II.

MEMORIAL *of the* PORTE, *delivered in March* 1764, *to the* FOREIGN MINISTERS *at that* COURT, *in relation to the future Election of a King of* POLAND.

AMICABLE MEMORIAL.

NOTICE has been lately given to the ambaſſadors our friends, that it was the intention of the Sublime Porte, that the ancient liberties of the court of Poland ſhould not be encroached upon by foreign courts; that the king of Poland, who is to be ſet up, ſhould be elected and eſtabliſhed in the perſon of a native, as by the concurrence of the republic of Poland; and that no foreigner ſhould be made king. Yet advices received from divers places import, that there is room to think, that diſturbances are raiſed in Poland in order to get a perſon ſet by force on the poliſh throne, who is ſupported by certain powers. Though we are not quite perſuaded of the reality of theſe advices, a memorial has been delivered to each of the miniſters of Ruſſia, Germany, and Pruſſia, importing, that as the Sublime Porte takes it to be honourable to maintain and ſupport the ancient liberties of the Poles; and as the ſame Sublime Porte does not cramp the election that ought to be made of a king in the perſon of a native of the country; the Sublime Porte therefore deſires,

ſires, that the other powers will likewiſe do honour to the liberties of the Poles, and that they will not oppoſe the election of a king in the perſon of ſuch Piaſt (native) as the Poles may judge eligible. In conſequence, this notice is given to the ambaſſadors our friends.

No. III.

PROTEST *againſt the* POLISH DIET *aſſembled for the Election of a King, drawn up and ſigned the 7th May* 1764, *by twenty Senators; to which Proteſt forty-five Nuncios afterwards ſigned an Act of Adherence.*

1. THE diet cannot be held in preſence of the foreign troops that ſurround the city.

2. The ſenators did not engage the Ruſſians to come; they gave no thanks for their being ſent, and have not any way given occaſion for their arrival.

3. The Ruſſians have committed an act of violence in Lithuania, by favouring a pernicious confederacy made for diſturbing the public tranquillity.

4. It is againſt all juſtice, that in the memorial of the Ruſſian miniſters, delivered to the primate the 4th inſtant, the troops of the crown are accuſed of having meddled in the dietines and other public acts.

5. It is by the unjuſt proceedings of the ſame foreign troops, that the general dietine of Pruſſia has proved abortive; and this is another motive for proteſting againſt this diet.

6. All good patriots, who love juſtice, are invited to unite for the ſupport of liberty.

At the end of this manifeſto there is an adheſion to the proteſts of the ſenators, ſigned by forty-five nuncios.

No. IV.

A DISCOURSE *addreſſed by his* POLISH MAJESTY *to the* PRINCE PRIMATE *and the* MARSHAL *of the* DIET, *in the Cathedral of* WARSAW, *when he received the Diploma of his Election, and took the Oath uſual on that Occaſion.*

IT was not my deſign to ſpeak in public at this time; but, in preſenting me with the diploma of my election, that ſolemn token of the nation's love, you, Mr. Marechal, have exhorted the ſovereign to ſpeak to his people. Theſe words of your diſcourſe oblige me to ſpeak, and to diſcover the feelings that paſſed within me, when the moment approached of taking the oath by which I have now bound myſelf in your preſence. Nay, I am even rejoiced that I have now an occaſion of ſhewing you, Mr. Marechal, together with the ſenators and ſtates of the republic, my real ſentiments, that thus you may judge whether my views, principles, and actions, will in any wiſe tend to ſatisfy your deſires, and to accompliſh your hopes.

When, by united acclamations, the reſpectable citizens of this vaſt kingdom deigned to confer upon their equal the dignity of monarch, I bowed my head with the moſt profound reſpect in receiving this precious mark of the favour, liberty, and unanimity of this great people.

After my election, the impulſe of gratitude led me to the ſanctuary to pay my homage to the King of kings, becauſe it is there that he is more peculiarly pleaſed with the tribute of mortals. And now that I am again called to the ſame ſanctuary, it appeared to me, while I was approaching to it, that I was called before the throne of him who governs the univerſe, and preſides over the courſe of the revolving ages. At this thought I was filled with awe; my veins alſo trembled when I was obliged to pronounce that irrevocable engagement, in conſequence of which the honour

and

and proſperity of the poliſh nation, and the ſafety and happineſs of the individuals that compoſe it, are committed to the truſt of one man; and I feel ſo much the more the weight of this important truſt, in that I have long ſhared with you the calamities that flow from that want of order, union, and vigour, that has clouded the luſtre of this once glorious and flouriſhing kingdom. I acknowledge that, in that ſolemn moment, a diſcouraging view of the obligations I was going to contract, and a conſciouſneſs of my own inſufficiency and weakneſs, made the deepeſt impreſſion upon me; I was ſeized with a ſort of terror; my voice loſt its uſual tone, my tongue faultered, and the words of the regal oath, though dear to my heart, which acquieſces in them perfectly, could not find an utterance: but when I turned my eyes to you, Mr. Primate, when I heard you repeat the words of the oath, I could not behold you in any other light than as the miniſter of the Moſt High, and therefore thought it my duty to ſubmit to your guidance. Since the clamours of diſcord and party-hatred have been reduced to ſilence by your venerable preſence; ſince a multitude of tongues, which ſpoke each a different language, have become all of a ſudden, as it were by a miracle, the unanimous echoes of your's; you muſt certainly be filled with the Holy Spirit, that ſpirit of power, wiſdom, and truth. Hitherto you have been my guide. Be ſtill my kind aſſiſtant and counſellor. Continue to cheriſh and keep alive the zeal and attachment of thoſe loyal hearts which your goodneſs and humanity gained over to my cauſe. Let your wiſdom and reſolution concur with my beſt endeavour to hold with dignity, and manage with prudence, the helm of government, at which you have been charged by the nation to place me. As the marſhal of the diet has been joined with you in this commiſſion, both inclination and duty oblige me to addreſs myſelf to him alſo on this occaſion.

You deſire me to ſpeak, ſir, and it is with the utmoſt pleaſure that I comply with this deſire. I thereby have an oppor-

opportunity of declaring that I love and honour your perſon, your virtues, and your talents. This declaration is not the effect of that warm gratitude that impels me to ſpeak to you at this time; it is the effect of a long obſervation of thoſe qualities which have produced one fruit; and may that fruit always prove agreeable to our dear country! You, ſir, are called to appear before the throne, as the repreſentative of that ſpirited and reſpectable nobility, which commands me to govern the republic according to the laws; and it is natural, that I ſhould be deſirous of employing the good offices of one whoſe perſon is ſo agreeable, and whoſe teſtimony is ſo weighty as yours, to aſſure that nobility of the ſincerity of my reſolutions and intentions with reſpect to that important object. Tell that nobility, that it is my fixed purpoſe to employ the remainder of my days, and all the means and opportunities that it ſhall pleaſe the Divine Providence to place within the extent of my power, in anſwering the expectations of my dear countrymen: but at the ſame time exhort them, conjure them, to lend their zealous ſuccours to a ſovereign who has their happineſs and proſperity deeply at heart, and who will never aim at any other object than the public good. Where is the perſon that does not ſee, and alſo feel, the diſorders and calamities under which the nation labours? A diſmal experience points out too plainly the pernicious ſource from whence theſe calamities flow. Self-intereſt and envy have produced diſcord, and thus thrown all things into confuſion. A ſpirit of faction has perplexed our councils, and thus rendered impotent the natural inſtruments of our ſafety, and of our glory; and thoſe treaſures that ought to have been employed in maintaining the vigour and ſplendour of this republic, are become the prey of that fatal luxury, whoſe pernicious effects increaſe from day to day. Let our union then heal thoſe calamities, which all other means will be inſufficient to remove! You know by experience, that a few tools of faction can deſtroy with more facility than the

majority

majority can build. Let emulation, that uſeful virtue, that ſeems to border upon envy, from which nevertheleſs it differs extremely, animate our efforts. Let us all run the noble race of patriotiſm, and endeavour to ſurpaſs one another, in aiming at true merit, and propoſing to ourſelves no other glory but that which is acquired by ſerving our country. But to what will amount the deſires and the projects of feeble mortals, if they are not ſeconded by him whoſe word commands nations and empires to riſe or fall? Great God! whoſe hand has raiſed me to the high ſtation I now fill, thou doeſt nothing in vain. Thou haſt given me the crown; and thou haſt given me with it an ardent deſire to reſtore this kingdom to its former proſperity and grandeur. Finiſh, therefore, thy own work! Let my prayer ariſe to the throne of thee, by whom kings reign! Inſpire the hearts of this people with that zeal for the public that fills mine!

No. V.

COPY *of a* DECLARATION *delivered on the 4th of November 1766, to the* KING *and* REPUBLIC *of* POLAND, *by Mr.* WROUGHTON, *the* BRITISH MINISTER *at* WARSAW, *in behalf of the* DISSIDENTS *of that Kingdom.*

HIS britannic majeſty, ever excited by reaſonable deſires of protecting by all methods the chriſtian proteſtants, eſpecially thoſe who, by virtue of particular conventions, have a right to expect his aſſiſtance, finds himſelf obliged to repeat his preſſing repreſentations in favour of that oppreſſed part of the poliſh nation, known by the name of Diſſidents; wherefore the underſigned, in conformity to freſh orders from the king, his moſt gracious ſovereign, has the honour to repreſent to you, ſir, and to the republic of Poland, that

that his britannic majeſty, beſides the many ſolid motives of juſtice and humanity, which give him reaſon to hope for a happy ſucceſs of the preſent negotiations relative to this affair, finding himſelf compelled, by a ſtrict alliance with the courts of Peterſburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, to intereſt himſelf in behalf of the Diſſidents, in all the forms of law, and in quality of guarantee of the treaty of peace of Oliva, wiſhes that, in the preſent diet, this virtuous but unhappy part of the poliſh ſubjects may be re-eſtabliſhed, as members of the ſtate, in the poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges, as well as in the peaceable enjoyment of their mode of worſhip, which every one knows belonged to them before the ſigning of the ſaid treaty of Oliva. At the ſame time his britannic majeſty conſiders how great is the connection between the intereſts even of the republic and the juſtice of this affair, as well as the fundamental laws of the kingdom; laws which were not only obſerved for two centuries, but renewed by treaties with the northern powers, ſo ſolemn, that they do not permit the leaſt alteration to be undertaken, unleſs with the general conſent of the contracting parties. For theſe cauſes his britannic majeſty, filled with confidence of the equity and penetration of his poliſh majeſty, who, from the beginning of his reign, has given ſo many teſtimonies of zeal for the happineſs of mankind, and of love towards the adminiſtration of juſtice in the republic, has not the leaſt doubt that his juſt deſires will no longer be oppoſed by references to inefficacious conſtitutions, eſtabliſhed in the midſt of inteſtine troubles, contradicted by the formal proteſtations and expreſs declarations on the part of foreign powers.

Although the rights and privileges of the Diſſidents are founded on a doctrine, whoſe principles of charity and benevolence make it characteriſtical of chriſtianity; and the divinity of its inſtitutor, who firſt preached it, renders it ſtill leſs a matter of doubt; yet it is this religion, of which the exerciſe is diſturbed, and of which its profeſſors are excluded from all honourable employments, and deprived of

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all means of ſerving their country. Nevertheleſs, their rights and privileges have been confirmed to them by many ordinances of the kingdom, ſettled by ſo many treaties, ſupported on foundations ſo ſacred and ſo evident to the eyes of all nations, that the underſigned miniſter of a monarch who preſerves towards the republic the ſincereſt ſentiments of friendſhip, and of inclination to give proofs of them on every occaſion, flatters himſelf, that the mediation of the king his maſter will produce the effects which he may naturally promiſe himſelf; that the wiſdom of the nation aſſembled will afford a remedy to the evils which rend the ſtate, and oppreſs the Diſſidents; and that, with regard to things eccleſiaſtical and civil, they may be re-eſtabliſhed in the ſituation they were in before the treaty of Oliva. As to the reſt, the ſincere wiſhes of his britannic majeſty for the glory of the king of Poland, and for the proſperity of the republic, are ſo notorious, that it would be uſeleſs to give freſh aſſurances of them. In the meanwhile, the underſigned cannot avoid reiterating them, as an inconteſtable proof of their reality.

(Signed) WROUGHTON.

No. VI.

The LETTER *from the* KING *of* PRUSSIA, *mentioned p.* 48, *was couched in the following terms:*

MADAM, MY SISTER,

I MUST begin by thanking your imperial majeſty for the favour you have conferred upon me in the communication of your work on legiſlation. Permit me to ſay, that it is a buſineſs which has had but few examples in the world; and I may venture to add, madam, that your imperial

perial majeſty is the firſt empreſs who has made ſuch a preſent as that which I have juſt now received. The antient Greeks, who were all appretiators of merit, in their deifications of great men, aſſigned the firſt place to legiſlators, whom they deemed the true benefactors of the human race. They would have placed your imperial majeſty between Lycurgus and Solon.

I made it my firſt duty, madam, to read the excellent work which your majeſty has vouchſafed to compoſe; and, that I might keep my mind free from all prepoſſeſſion, I conſidered it as coming from a well-known pen. I confeſs to you, madam, that I was charmed, not only with the principle of humanity and gentleneſs that give birth to theſe laws, but alſo with the order, with the aſſociation of ideas, with the uncommon clearneſs and preciſion that reign in this work, and the immenſe variety of knowledge diſſeminated throughout.

I put myſelf, madam, in your place, and I immediately perceived that every country demands particular conſiderations, which require the legiſlator to comply with the genius of the nation, in the ſame manner as the gardener accommodates himſelf to his ſoil. There are deſigns which your imperial majeſty is ſatisfied with pointing out, and on which your prudence prevents you from inſiſting. In a word, madam, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people whom you govern with ſo much glory, I ſee enough of it to perſuade me, that if they govern themſelves by your laws, they will be the happieſt nation in the world; and ſince your imperial majeſty is deſirous of knowing all that I think on that matter, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to tell it naturally.

It is, madam, that good laws, formed on the principles that you have traced out, will require lawyers for their being put in execution in your vaſt domains; and I think, madam, that, after the good you have juſt been doing in legiſlation, you have another boon to grant, which is the inſtitution of an academy of law, for the education of perſons

ſons deſigned for the bar, as well judges as advocates. However ſimple the ſeveral laws may be, caſes of litigation, caſes complicated and obſcure, will ariſe, in which it will be neceſſary to draw up truth from the well, which require expert advocates and judges to unravel them.

This, on my honour, is all that I have to ſay to your imperial majeſty, unleſs it be, madam, that this eſtimable monument of your labour and your activity, with which you condeſcend to truſt me, ſhall be preſerved as one of the choiceſt pieces in my library. Were there any thing, madam, capable of augmenting my admiration, it would be the benefit you have herein beſtowed upon your immenſe people.

Accept, with your accuſtomed goodneſs, the aſſurances of the high conſideration with which I am,

Madam, my ſiſter,

Your imperial majeſty's good brother and ally,

(Signed) FREDERIC.

No. VII.

COPY *of a* LETTER *of her* IMPERIAL MAJESTY *of all the* RUSSIAS, *to his Excellency Count* VLADIMIR ORLOFF, *Director of the Academy of Sciences at* PETERSBURG.

MONS. COUNT ORLOFF,

HAVING been informed, that in the ſummer of the year 1769, the planet Venus will paſs over the ſun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the academy of ſciences on my part, 1. That it is my pleaſure that the academy ſhould procure the obſervations to be made with the utmoſt care; and that I deſire, in conſequence, to know, 2. which are the moſt advantageouſly ſituated places of the empire

that the academy has deſtined for this obſervation; to the end that, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary to erect any buildings, workmen, &c. may be ſent, and proper meaſures be taken. 3. That if there be not a ſufficient number of aſtronomers in the academy for completing the obſervations in the places pitched upon by the academy, I propoſe, and take upon me to find out, among my marine ſubjects, ſuch as, during the interval between the preſent time and the tranſit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of obſerving under the eyes of the profeſſors, ſo as to be employed to advantage in this expedition, and to the ſatisfaction of the academy. You will, Mr. Count, tranſmit me the anſwer of the academy, with its full opinion about every thing above, that I may give orders for the whole without loſs of time.

CATHARINE.

Moſco, 3 *March* 1767.

COPY *of a* LETTER *from M.* RAMOFFSKY, *of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at* PETERSBURG, *to Mr.* SHORT *of the Royal Society of* LONDON.

SIR,

I EXPECTED your letter impatiently, and received it the $\frac{6}{17}$th of October. We were ſomewhat in doubt as to our anſwering the views of our ſovereign, till the arrival of your letter, which diſſipated our uneaſineſs in reſpect of the inſtruments. Judge yourſelf, ſir, how ſatisfactory it was to us to underſtand that you would take upon you to procure us the neceſſary inſtruments, and, moreover, to give us your advice how to proceed ſucceſsfully in this important obſervation.

I thank you, ſir, in the name of the academy, and on my account eſpecially, hoping a more favourable occaſion of teſtifying my obligations. At preſent, I refer to your judgment the meaſures the academy has taken with relation to the tranſit of Venus.

Purſuant

Purſuant to her imperial majeſty's orders, in a letter to his excellency count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy, the copy whereof I herewith ſend you; the academy having repreſented, that the propereſt places in the ruſſian empire for the obſervation of the duration of the tranſit, are Kola, and the parts near it, and for the exit, the borders of the caſpian ſea, has beſeeched her majeſty to be pleaſed to ſend two obſervers to the north, and two to the Caſpian. The ſtations named by the academy are Kola, Solowetſkoi monaſtir, Aſtrakhan, and Orenburg. The empreſs, in accordance to the repreſentations of the academy, apprehenſive of the precarious ſtate of the weather, at the end of May, at Kola and thereabouts, has been pleaſed to diſtribute four other obſervers among thoſe quarters. The academy, availing itſelf of the high protection her imperial majeſty has deigned to extend to this enterpriſe, has determined one to Yakoutſk, where the duration will not be 2½ leſs than at Kola, Torneao, and Cajaneburg.

Mr. Wargentin has informed me, that Mr. Mallet of Upſal is preparing for Torneao, and Mr. Planmann for his former Cajaneburg; ſo that this country will be ſo ſecure in ſuch a multiplicity of obſervers, that it may be well hoped that ſome ſtation or other will not fail of affording a complete obſervation of this phænomenon.

St. Peterſburg, 23d October 1767.

No. VIII.

MANIFESTO *of the* GRAND SIGNIOR, *concerning the War declared by his* HIGHNESS *againſt the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *delivered the* 30*th of October* 1767, *to the* FOREIGN MINISTERS *reſiding at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

IT may clearly be ſeen by what follows, that the Sublime Porte has ſtrictly obſerved the articles of the peace eſta-

bliſhed between this empire and the court of Ruſſia, who, on the contrary, has infringed them in many inſtances.

The court of Ruſſia, againſt the faith of treaties, has not deſiſted from building various fortreſſes on the frontiers of the two ſtates, and has provided them with troops and ammunition.

In the year 1177 (or 1763), on the death of Auguſtus the third, king of Poland, the republic of Poland, intending, according to the ſyſtem of the poliſh liberty, to proceed to the election of a king, the court of Ruſſia ſet up for a king a private poliſh officer, in whoſe family there had never been any king, and to whom loyalty was not becoming; and has, by ſiding with this king, intruded on and traverſed, againſt the will of the republic, all the affairs of the Poles. The Porte having given notice of this to the ruſſian reſident, he declared that the republic of Poland having required a certain number of troops to protect its own liberty, 6000 horſe and 1000 koſaks were granted for that purpoſe, who had neither cannon nor ammunition with them, and were to be under the command of the republic, and that there was not a ſingle ruſſian ſoldier above that number in Poland. Yet, when he was aſked, ſome time after, why the court of Ruſſia had ſent more troops into Poland, and why violence had been uſed on the election of Poniatofsky, ſon of one of the grandees of Poland, the ſaid reſident aſſured, by a writing ſigned with his hand, that his court had not declared for any perſon, nor had ever made uſe of violent means for the election of any one whatſoever. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance and declaration, the court of Ruſſia has been continually ſending troops, cannon, and ammunition, under the command of its own generals, who continued to attack the poliſh liberty, and put to death thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the perſon that themſelves had not elected for their king, and who was not the ſon of a king; ſtripping them, with clamour and violence, of their goods and eſtates. Such a conduct being productive of

confuſion

confuſion in the good order of the Sublime Porte, he was given to underſtand that, according to the tenor of the articles of the old and new imperial capitulations, the court of Ruſſia muſt order her troops to evacuate Poland; this the ſaid reſident promiſed by ſeveral memorials ſigned; but this promiſe has not been fulfilled. In the mean time, the Sublime Porte received advice, that ſome ruſſian troops had been ſent to Balta, (one of the muſſulman frontiers,) with ſome artillery, and had unexpectedly attacked the muſſulmans, and maſſacred upwards of a thouſand perſons, men, women, and children.

The Sublime Porte, having again demanded ſatisfaction from the court of Ruſſia for this outrage, which, againſt the tenor of treaties, had been committed with artillery; and the khan of Krimea having alſo demanded ſatisfaction for the ſame, the ſaid court denied the fact, alleging that the Haydamacks had done ſome damage, but that care would be taken to puniſh them; although it is notorious that the Haydamacks never make uſe of cannon nor bombs in their irruptions. The Sublime Porte, notwithſtanding, ſtill perſiſted in requiring ſatisfaction for ſuch a conduct, and ſtill demanded the reaſon why the court of Ruſſia would not, theſe three years paſt, withdraw its troops from Poland, ſince the articles of the treaty, concluded in 1133 (1719), and that of 1152 (1738), ſtipulate, "That as often as any event ſhall happen, capable of diſturbing the perpetual peace of the two empires, they ſhould proceed *ipſo facto* to the means of terminating them in an amicable manner;" nevertheleſs the outrages and devaſtations at Balta have been denied, and the puniſhment of thoſe who had the boldneſs to be guilty of them, has been poſtponed and even neglected. The ſilence itſelf of the ruſſian reſident, who having been invited to come to the Porte to anſwer for this proceeding, and to declare what his court meant by ſtill keeping its troops in Poland, proves the infraction of the treaty. At laſt he was aſked definitely, whether, according

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to the ancient and new treaties, which ſubſiſt between the two empires, the court of Ruſſia would deſiſt from meddling with the affairs of Poland, under pretence of guarantee and promiſe: he replied, that his full power was limited, and that he could not anſwer thereupon, ſince that article was known to his court only. Such a behaviour plainly demonſtrates that the above-mentioned power thinks proper to take upon itſelf the infraction of treaties; therefore it is, that the illuſtrious doctors of the law have given by *fetras* (or legal ſentences) their anſwers, that, "according to the exigency of juſtice, it was neceſſary to make war againſt the Muſcovites:" an opinion that has been unanimouſly confirmed. Thus the arreſt of the ſaid reſident being become neceſſary, we give by theſe preſents notice to all the powers of Europe, that the ſaid reſident ſhall be guarded in the caſtle of the Seven Towers; and that, during the whole time that this tranſaction has laſted, the Sublime Porte has done nothing that might break the friendſhip, nor any thing contrary to the articles of the treaties concluded between the two empires, &c.

The DECLARATION *of the* IMPERIAL COURT *of* RUSSIA *to the* COURTS *of* EUROPE *upon the Arreſt of its Miniſter reſident at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

HER imperial majeſty, in taking a part in the tranſactions of the republic of Poland, as humanity on one ſide, and the obligations of her crown on the other, had prompted her, was no leſs careful to conduct herſelf in ſuch a manner as not to give any umbrage to a jealous and powerful neighbour: every part of her conduct was public; and ſhe had likewiſe a particular attention to communicate in confidence to the ottoman Porte her reſolutions upon every ſtep ſhe took, and the conduct ſhe intended to obſerve, till the peace and tranquillity of that kingdom was entirely re-eſtabliſhed. But the enemies to the peace of theſe two empires were not wanting

wanting to blacken at the Porte all the actions of her imperial majeſty, and to ſow there the ſeeds of diſcord by the moſt falſe imputations. The Porte, reſtrained by the upright conduct the court of Ruſſia continued to maintain towards them, liſtened, but it was with caution, to the calumny that was ſpread. Some attention to the affairs of Poland, and an impartial examination of what Ruſſia had done, compared with the overtures made by that court at the Porte, had diſpelled all ſuſpicion, and the public tranquillity ſeemed to be no more threatened. The common enemies, however, repeated their inſinuations with more rage and audacity than ever, to impoſe upon the credulity of the turkiſh nation, and infuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent among them, which called for the notice of government; for it had forced its way even into the ſeraglio. The change in the miniſtry, brought about by theſe events, ſoon produced a revolution in the ſyſtem of peace, equally dear to both nations. The new vizir, upon his advancement, immediately ſent for Mr. Obreſkoi, her imperial majeſty's reſident at the Porte, and, after having cauſed to be read in his preſence a declaration full of heavy charges againſt his court, part of which have already been invalidated by the moſt fair and candid explanations, and others that had never exiſted, or were ever thought of, the vizir preſſed him to ſign immediately, under the guarantee of the allies of his ſovereign, ſome very offenſive conditions, in regard to which there never had been made the leaſt propoſal during the whole courſe of the operations in Poland. Theſe conditions, very derogatory to the honour and glory of an empreſs accuſtomed to receive no law, propoſed in a tone and form repugnant to the freedom of negotiation adopted by every power, were attended with the alternative of an immediate rupture of the perpetual peace between the two empires. The ruſſian miniſter, confident of the upright intentions of his court, and conſcious of the probity of his own conduct, as having fulfilled the duties of a long

miniſtry, was incapable of unworthily degrading his court and his own character by a humiliating engagement, and which would have exceeded the power and commiſſion of any miniſter, let them be ever ſo extenſive; he gave therefore a poſitive refuſal, as became his honour and his duty; and the reſolution of the divan, which followed immediately after, was to arreſt him, and part of his retinue, and carry him to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. It would be needleſs for the imperial court of Ruſſia to dwell any longer upon this event, or to enter here into an examination of it. The fact ſpeaks for itſelf. The honour and glory of her imperial majeſty—the regard to her empire, point out the part it is right for her to take. Confiding in the juſtice of her cauſe, ſhe appeals to all chriſtian courts on the ſituation ſhe finds herſelf in with regard to the common enemy of chriſtianity, certain as ſhe is, that her conduct will meet with equal approbation from each of them, and that ſhe ſhall have the advantage to join to the divine protection the juſt aſſiſtance of her friends, and the good wiſhes of all Chriſtendom.

No. IX.

A LETTER *from M.* DE VOLTAIRE, *to the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR *at* PARIS.

I SEE by the letters which her imperial majeſty and your excellency honour me with, how greatly your nation is riſing, while I am afraid that, in ſome reſpects, ours is beginning to degenerate. The empreſs deigns herſelf to tranſlate that chapter of Beliſarius, which ſome college-fellows traduce at Paris. We ſhould be overwhelmed with ſhame and ſcorn, if all the men of worth, of whom there is a great number in France, did not ſtrongly ſtand up againſt the

the egregious ſcandal of the times. Folly, ignorance, and envy, there will always be in any country; but then there will alſo be in it ſcience and good taſte. I dare even aver, to you that, in general, our principal military, and, as to what concerns the counſel, our counſellors of ſtate, and the maſters of requeſts, are more enlightened than they were in the ſhining age of Lewis the fourteenth. Great talents are ſtill rare; but ſcience and reaſon are more common than they.

I ſee with pleaſure that there is forming in Europe an immenſe republic of cultivated underſtandings. The light diffuſes and communicates itſelf on all ſides. I have things come to me from the north that aſtoniſh me. Within theſe laſt fifteen years there has been operated a revolution in the human underſtanding, that will form a great epoch. The outcries of the pedants proclaim the approach of this great change, as the croaking of the crows forebodes fair weather.

I know nothing of the book of M. de la Riviere, which you do me the honour of mentioning to me; but can hardly believe that the author, while avoiding the faults into which M. de Monteſquieu may have fallen, has gone beyond him in thoſe points in which that ſhining genius is in the right. I ſhall ſend for his book; and in the meanwhile congratulate the author on his being ſo near ſuch a ſovereign and empreſs, who patronizes all the talents in foreigners, and whoſe maternal care gives birth to them in her own dominions. But it is you whom I eſpecially congratulate on repreſenting her ſo worthily at Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

No. X.

COUNTER-DECLARATION *of the* COURT *of* WARSAW.

THE underwritten miniſters of the king and republic of Poland, having laid before his majeſty the declarations given in on the 18th and 26th of September, by the miniſters from the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin; and his majeſty having taken the advice of his ſenate thereupon, the underwritten are commanded to make the following anſwer thereto:

The diſintereſted and ſucceſsful pains of her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, to preſerve tranquillity in Poland during the laſt interregnum, and promote the free election of the reigning king, univerſally recognized; the concurrence of the king of Pruſſia in the ſame deſigns; and the ſyſtem of neutrality at that time adopted by the empreſs-queen; are circumſtances which, appreciated as they ought to be by the king, will never be effaced from his memory or heart.

The king is happy in ſeeing the regulations and internal eſtabliſhments of the diets, immediately ſucceeding the death of Auguſtus III. declared "uſeful and ſalutary" by the three powers: he would ever wiſh the emanations of the ſovereign power of the republic to be regarded with a favourable eye by all his neighbours.

All Europe is long ſince informed of the original and ſucceſſive cauſes of the preſent troubles in Poland: all Europe knows, that the king, and the ſoundeſt part of the nation, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the riſe and ſtop the progreſs of them; unfortunately theſe efforts have been unſucceſsful; and certainly the conſequences have been dreadful. The ſupreme and legal authority of the ſtate has been denied by ſome; anarchy has ſpread itſelf over the provinces; all Poland has been impoveriſhed, ravaged,

ravaged, trodden under foot, as well by her own citizens, as by foreign troops: ſhe has felt, and all Europe has ſeen, thoſe ſufferings proportioned to the length of time theſe troops have been in the country, the orders of their reſpective courts, and the manner in which their orders have been put in execution.

In a word, five years of ſcourge and deſolation have ruined this country, and make the return of peace a matter of urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity.

The engagements entered into by the three powers, to co-operate in effectuating this great work, appeared, therefore, full of humanity, and would have been regarded by the king with the livelieſt gratitude, if the latter part of their declaration had left room for any ſentiment but thoſe of the utmoſt ſurpriſe and the moſt profound grief.

Theſe courts pretend conſiderable claims on the unhappy Poland: a plan of indemnification, the actual and effectual ſeizure of equivalents, are avowed.

The ſtrict attention of the king and republic to fulfil all their engagements with theſe powers; the laws of good neighbourhood ſo religiouſly obſerved by Poland; the manner, ſo friendly and full of regard, in which the king has repreſented, on ſo many occaſions, the different ſubjects of complaint he had unfortunately had againſt his neighbours; the preſent ſituation of Poland, ſo worthy in all reſpects of the compaſſion of generous and ſenſible minds; all ſhould have ſecured to him the return of mutual good-will, and protected him for ever from enterpriſes ſo injurious to his rights and the legality of his poſſeſſions.

The rights of the republic to all her provinces have every poſſible mark of ſolidity and authenticity; an uninterrupted poſſeſſion of many ages, avowed and maintained by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and particularly by thoſe of Velaw and Oliva, guaranteed by the houſe of Auſtria, by the crowns of France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by the treaty of 1686, with Ruſſia; by the expreſs and recent declarations of

of this laſt power; by thoſe of Pruſſia in 1764; and laſtly, by treaties with the houſe of Auſtria, ſtill in full force and vigour; on theſe foundations the rights of the republic are grounded.

The court of Warſaw contents itſelf with barely pointing them out at preſent, reſerving the right of ſupporting them by proofs more ample and particular in time and place.

What titles can the three powers oppoſe to theſe? If they are titles dug out of the obſcurity of ancient times, of thoſe times of ſudden and momentary revolutions, which erected and deſtroyed, ceded and reſtored ſtates in the ſhort ſpace of a few months or years; theſe titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the kingdom of Poland many provinces which formerly belonged to it, but have for many years been occupied by the very powers who now form pretenſions on her.

But as it is undeniable, that not only tranſactions buried in the oblivion of diſtant ages, but all tranſactions whatever, are annihilated by ſubſequent ſtipulations; as all the latter ſtipulations between Poland and her neighbours oppoſe directly the partition they now would make, it follows, that the titles on which that partition is founded, cannot be admitted, without undermining the rights of every ſtate, without ſhaking every throne from its foundation.

The very powers who declare that the ſituation of Poland will not permit them to obtain juſtice in the ordinary ways of proceedings, cannot be ignorant that its preſent ſituation is accidental and momentary; that it is in their own power to change it. Their conſent alone is wanting to reſtore the republic to the free and lawful exerciſe of its independent ſovereignty. That would be time to produce and examine their claims. This is the method of proceeding which the king had a right to demand from the equity of the three courts, which he could not but expect to be adopted, relying on the letter written to him by the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 28th of January 1771.

But

But the preſent proceedings of the three courts, giving the moſt ſerious object of complaint to the king; and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be ſilent on this occaſion, he declares in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he looks upon the actual ſeizure of the provinces of Poland by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, as unjuſt, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights; he appeals to the treaties and powers guarantees of his kingdom and its appurtenances. And, laſtly, full of confidence in the juſtice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne, and puts his cauſe into the hands of the King of kings, the ſupreme judge of nations: and, in the full aſſurance of his ſuccour, he proteſts ſolemnly, and before the whole univerſe, againſt every ſtep taken, or to be taken, towards the diſmembering of Poland.

Given at Warſaw, Oct. 17th, 1772.

Signed by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania,

DECLARATION *of the* IMPERIAL MINISTER *at the* COURT *of* WARSAW.

HER majeſty the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia has ſeen, with unſpeakable aſtoniſhment, the little impreſſion made by the declaration preſented to his poliſh majeſty by the underwritten, and the miniſters from Peterſburg and Berlin, in order to accelerate a definitive arrangement between the republic and the three neighbouring powers, touching the pretenſions formed by the ſaid powers on Poland; pretenſions which the eſſential intereſts of their crowns will not permit them to expoſe to the hazard of future contingencies, and of thoſe troubles with which Poland has at all times been agitated.

The juſtice and dignity of the three courts preſcribe bounds to their moderation: this truth can neither eſcape the diſcernment of his poliſh majeſty, nor be indifferent to his

his heart, if the cries of his country have preſerved their influence there.

Her majeſty the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia hopes, therefore, that the king will not expoſe his kingdom to events which muſt be the conſequences of his delay to aſſemble a diet, and enter on a negotiation, which alone can ſave his country, reſtore vigour to the conſtitution of the republic, which has received ſo many and ſo dangerous ſhocks; and terminate the evils to which private intereſt, ambition, hatred, and diſſentions, have given riſe.

Done at Warſaw, Dec. 4th, 1772.

(Signed) RZEWICKI.

Note.—The miniſters from Peterſburg and Berlin delivered the next day each a declaration in the ſame words.

ANSWER *of the* COURT *of* WARSAW *to the preceding Piece.*

IN anſwer to the declarations of the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, the underwritten have orders to inform the miniſters of the ſaid courts, that the king, being informed of their deſires reſpecting the convocation of a diet, and of the inconveniencies which may ariſe from delays, is determined to comply, as far as it is in his power, not only with the view of taking away all pretext of aggravating the evils which afflict Poland, but under the hopes that this mark of regard will operate on the generoſity of the three powers, ſo as to induce them to put a ſpeedy end to theſe troubles, in a manner the moſt equitable and advantageous to the republic.

In conſequence hereof, his majeſty has iſſued circular letters for the convocation of a full council of the ſenate, which muſt indiſpenſably precede the ſummoning of a diet; and has fixed the ſame to the 8th of February following; a term which leaves no more than the time abſolutely neceſſary for the arrival of the diſtant ſenators.

Done at Warſaw, this 14th of December 1772.

Signed by the chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

No. XI.

EXTRACT *of a* LETTER *from* CATHARINE II. *late* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *to M.* DE VOLTAIRE.

SIR,

THE brightneſs of the northern ſtar is a mere aurora borealis. It is nothing more than giving to a neighbour ſomething of our own ſuperfluity. But to be the advocate of human kind, the defender of oppreſſed innocence; by this you will be indeed immortalized. The two cauſes of Calas and Sirven have procured you the veneration due to ſuch miracles. You have combated the united enemies of mankind, ſuperſtition, fanaticiſm, ignorance, chicane, bad judges, and the power lodged in them all together. To ſurmount ſuch obſtacles required both talents and virtue. You have ſhewn the world that you poſſeſs both. You have carried your point. You deſire, ſir, ſome relief for the Sirven family. Can I poſſibly refuſe it? Or, ſhould you praiſe me for the action, would there be the leaſt foundation for it? I own to you, that I ſhould be much better pleaſed if my bill of exchange could paſs unknown. Nevertheleſs, if you think my name, unharmonious as it is, may be of any ſervice to thoſe victims of the ſpirit of perſecution, I leave it to your diſcretion; and you may announce me, provided it be no way prejudicial to the parties.

No. XII.

The MANIFESTO *concerning the* REBELLION *of* PUGATSHEFF.

BY the grace of God, we Catharine II. empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, &c. make known to all our faithful ſubjects, that we have learnt, with the utmoſt indignation

dignation and extreme affliction, that a certain Koſak, a deſerter and fugitive from the Don, named Ikhelman Pugatſheff, after having traverſed Poland, has been collecting for ſome time paſt, in the diſtricts that border on the river Irghis in the government of Orenburg, a troop of vagabonds like himſelf; that he continues to commit in thoſe parts all kinds of exceſſes, by inhumanly depriving the inhabitants of their poſſeſſions and even of their lives; and that in order to draw over to his party, hitherto compoſed of robbers, ſuch perſons as he meets, and eſpecially the unhappy patriots, on whoſe credulity he impoſes, he has had the inſolence to arrogate to himſelf the name of the late emperor Peter III. It would be ſuperfluous here to prove the abſurdity of ſuch an impoſture, which cannot even put on a ſhadow of probability in the eyes of ſenſible perſons: for, thanks to the divine goodneſs, thoſe ages are paſſed in which the ruſſian empire was plunged in ignorance and barbariſm; when a Griſka, an Outreper, with their adherents, and ſeveral other traitors to their country, made uſe of impoſtures as groſs and deteſtable, to arm brother againſt brother, and citizen againſt citizen.

Since thoſe æras, which it is grievous to recollect, all true patriots have enjoyed the fruits of public tranquillity, and ſhudder with horror at the very remembrance of former troubles. In a word, there is not a man deſerving of the ruſſian name who does not hold in abomination the odious and inſolent lie by which Pugatſheff fancies himſelf able to ſeduce and to deceive perſons of a ſimple and credulous diſpoſition, by promiſing to free them from the bonds of ſubmiſſion and obedience to their ſovereign, as if the creator of the univerſe had eſtabliſhed human ſocieties in ſuch a manner as that they can ſubſiſt without an intermediate authority between the ſovereign and the people.

Nevertheleſs, as the inſolence of this vile refuſe of the human race is attended with conſequences pernicious to the provinces adjacent to that diſtrict; as the report of the flagrant enormities which he has committed may affright thoſe perſons

perſons who are accuſtomed to imagine the misfortunes of others as ready to fall upon them, and as we watch with indefatigable care over the tranquillity of our faithful ſubjects, we inform them by the preſent manifeſto, that we have taken, without delay, ſuch meaſures as are the beſt adapted to ſtifle the ſedition: and in order to annihilate totally the ambitious deſigns of Pugatſheff, and to exterminate a band of robbers, who have been audacious enough to attack the ſmall military detachments diſperſed about thoſe countries, and to maſſacre the officers, who were taken priſoners, we have diſpatched thither, with a competent number of troops, general Alexander Bibikoff, general in chief of our armies, and major of our regiment of life-guards.

Accordingly, we have no doubt of the happy ſucceſs of theſe meaſures, and we cheriſh the hope that the public tranquillity will ſoon be reſtored, and that the profligates who are ſpreading devaſtation over a part of the government of Orenburg will ſhortly be diſperſed. We are moreover perſuaded that our faithful ſubjects will juſtly abhor the impoſture of the rebel Pugatſheff, as deſtitute of all probability, and will repel the artifices of the ill-diſpoſed, who ſeek and find their advantage in the ſeduction of the weak and credulous, and who cannot aſſuage their avidity but by ravaging their country, and by ſhedding of innocent blood.

We truſt with equal confidence that every true ſon of the country will unremittedly fulfil his duty, of contributing to the maintenance of good order and of the public tranquillity, by preſerving himſelf from the ſnares of ſeduction, and by duly diſcharging his obedience to his lawful ſovereign. All our faithful ſubjects therefore may diſpel their alarms and live in perfect ſecurity, ſince we employ our utmoſt care, and make it our peculiar glory, to preſerve their property and to extend the general felicity.

Given at St. Peterſburg, Dec. 23, 1773. O. S.

No. XIII.

DECLARATION *of* BARON STACKELBERG, *Minister of* RUSSIA, *to the* KING *and the* SENATE *of* POLAND*.

THE powers in the vicinity of Poland have been so often involved in the troubles which almost every vacancy of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that from the recollection of the past it behoved them to give the most serious attention to the affairs of the polish nation, as soon as, by the death of the late king, Augustus III. the throne was become vacant.

Urged by these considerations, and desirous of preventing the dreadful effects of those dissensions, which, as in former instances, might have arisen at this last vacancy of the throne, the court of St. Petersburg hastened to take all possible measures to unite the citizens of Poland in favour of the candidate who should appear to be most worthy of the throne, most agreeable to his fellow-citizens, and most acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

This court applied herself at the same time, and with equal zeal, to the rectifying of many abuses and defects in the constitution, which had been equally prejudicial to Poland and her neighbours.

The court of Berlin seconded the attempts of her ally. And the court of Vienna, desirous, on her part, of contributing to the success of such laudable views, but willing, at the same time, to avoid the danger of augmenting the difficulties and intricacies which might arise from multiplying the number of those who undertook openly and directly to settle the affairs of Poland, thought proper to observe the most exact neutrality, with regard both to the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, and the war which was afterwards kindled on this subject between Russia and the Porte.

* This declaration shews what false and insidious language the authors of the desolations dared to hold.

The immediate conſequences of theſe meaſures were the free and legal election of Staniſlaus Auguſtus*, reigning king of Poland, and the forming of many uſeful and ſalutary eſtabliſhments. In a word, every thing ſeemed to promiſe to Poland and her neighbours a firm and laſting tranquillity.

But unhappily, in the midſt of theſe promiſing appearances, the ſpirit of diſcord ſeized upon one part of the nation: citizen armed againſt citizen; the ſons of faction ſeized the reins of authority; and laws, and order, and public ſafety, and juſtice, and police, and commerce, and agriculture, all are either gone to ruin, or ſtand on the brink of deſtruction. And the exceſſes of every kind, natural conſequences of ſuch an anarchy, will bring on the total diſſolution of the ſtate, if not timely prevented.

The connections between nations which border on each other are ſo intimate, that the ſubjects of the neighbouring powers have already felt the moſt diſagreeable effects from theſe diſorders. Theſe powers are obliged, at a great expence, to take meaſures of precaution, in order to ſecure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; they are expoſed to the uncertain but poſſible conſequences of the entire diſſolution of Poland; to the danger of ſeeing their mutual harmony and good friendſhip deſtroyed; the maintenance of which, at the ſame time that it ſecures their own peace and tranquillity, is a matter of the higheſt importance to all Europe.

From this view of things it will appear, that nothing can be of a more urgent neceſſity than to apply an immediate remedy to evils from which the neighbouring nations have already experienced the moſt diſagreeable effects; and the conſequences of which, if not timely prevented, muſt bring on ſuch changes in the political ſyſtem of this part of Europe, as may be fatal to the general tranquillity.

* And it was to the Poles that the miniſter Stackelberg had the aſſurance to ſay, that the election of Poniatofsky had been free and legal!

Impelled by reaſons ſo many and ſo weighty, her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, her majeſty the empreſs dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, find themſelves under a neceſſity of taking a deciſive part, in circumſtances ſo very critical. And their ſaid majeſties have determined among themſelves, without loſs of time, and with one accord, to take the moſt effectual and beſt-combined meaſures, for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing tranquillity and good order in Poland, to ſtop the preſent troubles, and to put the ancient conſtitution of that kingdom, and the liberties of the people, on a ſure and ſolid foundation.

But whilſt they take advantage of that mutual friendſhip and harmony which happily ſubſiſts between them at preſent, in order to prevent the abſolute ruin and arbitrary diſſolution of Poland; they cannot but be ſenſible how little it is in their power to promiſe themſelves in future periods the ſame happy concurrence. And as they have reſpectively very conſiderable claims on the poſſeſſions of the republic, which they cannot permit themſelves to expoſe to the hazard of poſſible contingencies, they have therefore determined among themſelves to aſſert theſe their ancient rights and lawful claims, which each of them will be ready to juſtify in time and place by authentic records and ſolid reaſons; but for which the ſituation of the republic will never leave them hopes of obtaining juſtice in the ordinary courſe of proceeding.

In conſequence hereof her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, her majeſty the empreſs dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, having communicated reciprocally their reſpective rights and claims, and being mutually convinced of the juſtice thereof, are determined to ſecure to themſelves a proportionable equivalent, by taking immediate and effectual poſſeſſion of ſuch parts of the territories of the republic as may ſerve to fix more natural and ſure bounds between her and the three powers: the

ſaid

ſaid three powers engaging to give hereafter an exact ſpecification of their reſpective quotas; and renouncing from the preſent moment all revival of right, demand, or claim, on account of damages ſuſtained, debt, intereſt, or any other pretence whatever, which they might otherwiſe have or form on the poſſeſſions or ſubjects of the republic.

Their ſaid majeſties have thought it right to notify theſe their intentions to the whole poliſh nation in general; inviting, at the ſame time, all orders and ranks thereof to baniſh, or at leaſt to ſuſpend, all ſpirit of diſcord and deluſion, in order that, a diet being legally aſſembled, they may co-operate with their ſaid majeſties in eſtabliſhing, on a firm and ſolid foundation, the good order and tranquillity of the nation, and may at the ſame time ratify, by public and ſolemn acts, the exchange of the titles, pretenſions, and claims of each of their majeſties, againſt the equivalents of which they have reſpectively taken poſſeſſion.

(Signed) STACKELBERG.

Given at Warſaw, September 2, 1772 *.

* This manifeſto was delivered on the 18th of September by baron Stackelberg, miniſter from the court of Peterſburg; and by the ſieur de Benoit, miniſter from the court of Berlin; and on the 26th of September by baron Rjevitch, miniſter from the court of Vienna.

END OF THE APPENDIX.